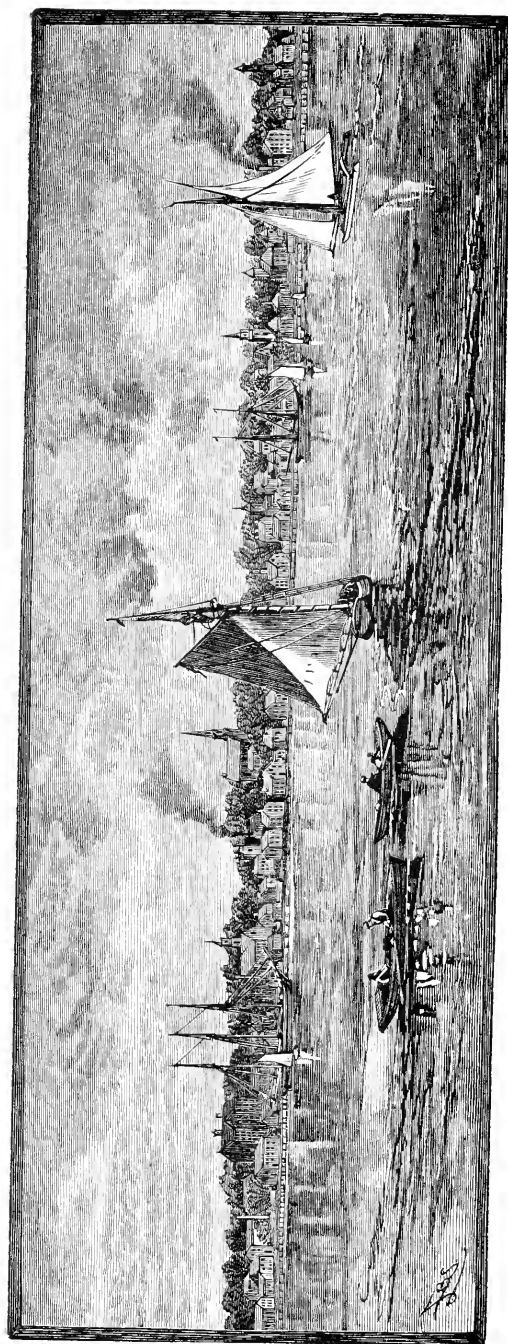


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BRISTOL, FROM POPPASQUASH.

THE HISTORY OF BRISTOL, R. I.

THE STORY

OF THE

MOUNT HOPE LANDS,

FROM THE VISIT OF THE NORTHMEN
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THE INDIAN WARS, THE CHARACTER AND LIVES
OF THE EARLY SETTLERS IN BRISTOL, THE EVENTS OF THE
REVOLUTION, THE PRIVATEERS OF THE WAR OF
1812, DETAILS OF THE COMMERCE OF THE
PORT, AND SKETCHES OF ITS
DISTINGUISHED MEN.

BY WILFRED H. MUNRO.

ILLUSTRATED.

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1880.

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PREFACE.

"WHETHER I shall do anything worth while, if from the very beginning of the city, I write a history of the Roman people, I neither know very well, nor if I knew would I dare to say." So wrote the historian Livy, as he sat at the window of his study and looked out upon the splendid imperial city, rich with the conquests of many hundreds of years. Whether I do anything worth while in writing the history of the town of Bristol, is not the thought which has troubled me, for every contribution to the history of a town or state has a definite and specific value. From their varied threads the future historian shall some day weave into graphic pages a faithful narrative of the progress of American civilization. Whether I am doing it in a worthy way—has been the troublesome question that could never be satisfactorily answered. For Bristol has a history peculiarly and strangely interesting to every thoughtful man. Very few towns in the whole country can furnish so many themes upon which the pen of the historian delights to linger.

In writing a local history two methods naturally present themselves for the choice of him who takes the task in hand. One is, to make it simply and only a local history; to give an epitome of all the legislation of the town; to perpetuate and eulogize upon its pages the names of all those who have taken a part that has raised them, in even the slightest degree, above the general level of their fellows; to give extended lists of those who have been its professional men, its merchants, its artisans and its seamen; and to make mention of the houses in which these men were born, and lived, and died. Such is the plan which has been often adopted. It may answer in the case of many towns whose part in the history of their state has been light and comparatively unimportant. It would not be worthy of the career of this town.

The other method is, to make the local names and details subordinate to the part the town has taken in the development of the state and nation; and to make extended mention only of those whose reputation has passed beyond its boundaries and has become a part of the history of the state. Such a method could not be employed in sketching the history of most American cities. I have deemed it the better one to pursue in writing the history of Bristol.

This latter method, of course, necessitated a much greater amount of

labor, and on this account only did I hesitate for a moment before adopting it. It is but a little more than a year since the task was undertaken; it is much less than a year since the first page of the book was written. No one who has not been engaged in such work can have more than the very slightest idea of the amount of toil which it involves; of the hours and days and weeks that must be spent in verifying the statements to be presented. The labor of composition is the lightest part. The book has, therefore, been hurried to the press under many disadvantages. The chapters have been sent to the printer almost before the ink was dry, and but little time has been afforded even for the final revision of the proofs. No opportunity whatever has been furnished for clothing in more graceful diction paragraphs that have slipped carelessly from the pen.

Abundance of material has never been lacking. The difficulty has been to select from the great mass of facts those most deserving of record. The reader will therefore very probably search in vain for much that he has confidently expected to find. It is undoubtedly true that many things have been overlooked and omitted, which ought here to be given a place. I shall be very glad to be informed concerning such subjects, that, if at some future time a new edition of this book shall be called for, I may be able to incorporate them in it. I shall also be grateful to any persons who will correct me concerning errors which have doubtless crept into the work. I have tried to be accurate in my statements, but am not so unwise as to suppose that I have uniformly been so.

Into the matter of genealogy I have not ventured to go. A very little research in the genealogical field is sufficient to convince one how impossible it is satisfactorily to treat the subject. It would, moreover, have required much more time than could well be spared from the rest of the book. In the history of the churches a sketch of their different pastors has very naturally found a place. Very few biographical sketches besides have been inserted in these pages. Only men who have been unusually prominent, and who have held high official positions, have thus been noticed. To pass outside this limit would be a dangerous step. It would be exceedingly difficult to determine with whom to begin, and at whose name to stop. Your pardon, therefore, reader, if I have reluctantly allowed the merits of your ancestors to go unrecorded.

In the chapters relating to the Revolution I had intended to place the names of those who served as soldiers in the American Army. After a careful examination of records it seems so impossible to present anything like a complete list, that the plan was abandoned altogether. Respecting the privateers of the "War of 1812" I also proposed to furnish a much more extended account, but was obliged to limit myself to the pages that have been given to the subject. I will be glad to receive additional information connected with the privateers and the commercial history of the port, for another volume, the publication of which is now contemplated.

Some corrections necessary in the following pages may as well be made in this place. Additional research has furnished convincing proof that *Poppasquash* more nearly conveys the sound of the Indian name of the peninsula opposite the town, than any other spelling. The fact that the sounds of the vowels in the English language are constantly changing, and that our ancestors always made their mode of spelling conform to the sound, accounts for the various forms of the word found in the old deeds. Pappoosesquaw, which has lately been forced into favor, can with difficulty be traced back for a generation. It is an invention of the present century, and has an entirely fanciful derivation. It should not for an instant be tolerated. Two mistakes, made upon page 93, attest the truth of what has just been written concerning genealogy. From Mr. John A. Howland, one of her descendants, I learn that the wife of Jabez Howland was not a daughter of Governor Carver. Mrs. Howland's maiden name was Elizabeth Tilley. In the year 1732, the *second* Jabez Howland died. The first Jabez died in 1711. On page 76, in the paragraph upon Nathaniel Oliver, 1682 should have been the date given. On page 172 one fact should have been stated much more positively. Capt Thomas Swan was, undoubtedly, concerned in the burning of the "Gaspee." In after years he delighted to rehearse the tale of its destruction. Many now living have heard, from Captain Swan's own lips, of the part Simeon Potter and the boat's crew from Bristol took in that memorable affair. Captain Swan used to give the names of all his associates, but those names have entirely escaped the memory of his auditors. On page 310 it should have been said that the "Yankee" had *captured* — not destroyed — British property amounting in value to almost a million of pounds. On page 331, Clyde, N. Y., should have been given as the present residence of the Rev. William Stowe.

To mention the names of all those who have contributed to the information embodied in this volume, would require very many paragraphs. My obligations are greatest to Mr. Bennett J. Munro, and Mr. William P. Munro. The former has, from his youth up, delighted to plunge into the records of the past, and from them he has extracted a very great amount of local information. The ready memory and remarkable knowledge of the latter has very rarely failed to aid me when information concerning any important point in the history of the town has been desired. To Mr. Alexander Perry I am also greatly indebted. Through his courtesy in placing the books of his grandfather, James DeWolf, at my disposal, I have been enabled to present the statistics given in the chapter on the "Yankee."

My task is by no means completed, even according to the plan I myself had marked out, but the limit originally assigned to the pages of the book has been considerably exceeded, and the demand for its publication has become imperative. Just as it is, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, I must present *The Story of the Mount Hope Lands* to the kindly consideration of its readers. Lovingly and reverently, as it becometh one of her sons to write, I have written the history of Bristol.

I have tried, as Livy tried, to call to life again the vanished past ; to place before her people a faithful picture of what the old town has been — that, looking upon it, and cherishing ever the memory of the matchless enterprise and wise forethought their fathers once displayed, they may be inspired to deeds which shall prove them worthy sons of those energetic and patriotic sires.

Shall I attempt, with prophetic hand, to draw aside the veil which obscures her future ? The busy hum of machinery now resounds through her streets. Almost deserted is her harbor, and the wharves, that once groaned beneath the load of foreign freights, are dropping slowly to pieces ; besides the daily steamers, only a few coasting vessels glide occasionally over its tranquil waters. It will not always be so. Not alone its merchant ships have vanished ; the ships of the whole country have almost passed away as well, and cautious capital has sought the surer profits manufactures seem to offer. But in course of years there will be a change. As the manufactures of the West are gradually developed, the great mill-owners of the East will be obliged to seek other markets for their products. Again, as in other days, it will be easier and more profitable to reach them over the highway nature has placed at our doors, than over those constructed by the hand of man. In process of time, also, if we can judge of the future by the past, by the West itself will a foreign market be needed, and then at least, if not before, the seas will again be covered with American keels. The great sea-port cities of to-day will not suffice to accommodate that mighty commerce, and other great commercial centres will grow up along our shores. This spacious, land-locked harbor will then once more be crowded with ships, as of old, and the streets of the town will once more be thronged with seamen. We may not, we probably shall not, live to see it ; our children possibly may not,— but our children's children surely will.

WILFRED H. MUNRO.

BRISTOL, R. I., Dec. 11, 1880.

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CHAPTER I.

THE VISITS OF THE NORTHMEN.*

IN the year of our Lord 1000, almost five centuries before the sight of the green shores of Guanahani gladdened the weary eyes of Christopher Columbus, Leif Ericson sailed up the Pocasset River, and landed upon the shores of Mount Hope Bay. He was one of that hardy Northern race whose home has always been the ocean, and whose sails even now overshadow the waters of every sea in the known world. In the spring of that year, so runs the Icelandic saga, he bought the ship of his countryman, Biarni Heriulfson, manned it with a crew of thirty-five, and sailed from Greenland to explore some strange shores lying far to the south. These shores Biarni had seen (but had not explored) several years before, when, in crossing from Iceland to Greenland, adverse winds had driven him several hundred miles below his intended harbor.

Having first visited the lands which Biarni had last seen (Newfoundland, which they called Helluland or the Land of Broad Stones, and Nova Scotia, to which they gave the name of Markland, the Land of Woods), the Northmen landed upon an island lying to the south of the Cape Cod peninsula

* The limited space which must necessarily be given to the Northmen in the pages of this book will not, of course, suffice for a full discussion of their claims. The author has therefore deemed it best to make a simple statement of the facts which their advocates have attempted to prove. For a full discussion of the subject the reader may consult *Rafn's Antiquitates Americanæ*. The very admirable pamphlet by Mr. Alexander Farnum of Providence, is, without doubt, familiar to many who will read this.

where they perceived a peculiar sweetness in the dew.* Then following the coast the explorers came to land at a place "where a river flowed out of a lake." The tide was low, and the shoals at the mouth of the Seaconnet River were even more extensive than at the present time. The impatient seamen were therefore obliged to wait for the rising tide to cover the shallows and afford a passage for their ship. With the tide they passed up the river and cast anchor in the lake. Here they disembarked and erected temporary habitations, but afterward, having determined to remain during the winter, built permanent dwellings from the stone which was so abundant upon the shores.

The waters of the rivers and bay abounded with fish of all kinds, and the salmon were of greater size than any before seen. Many wild animals were found in the forests. To these wanderers from the dreary Arctic regions, the land seemed wondrously fair, and the climate exceedingly soft and mild. They thought that cattle would be able to find provender in winter, as no intense cold occurred; "no snow fell,† and the grass did not wither much." "The equality in length of days was greater than in Iceland or Greenland. On the shortest day the sun remained above the horizon from 7.30 to 4.30."‡

When the dwellings were completed, Leif divided his men into two companies to explore the country; when one com-

* Probably the island of Nantucket, which is noted for its honey dew.

† The statement need not be taken literally, though the Northmen probably chanced upon a winter as free from snow and ice as that just passed, — 1879-80, — which would have seemed most mild to one coming from a country like Norway or Iceland. The grass has not "withered much," but has been green around many of our dwellings. So also the grass must then have been green in the sunny openings, protected from the cold north winds by the dense forests which covered most of the peninsula. We must also take into consideration the well-known fact that this part of America has become colder by reason of the change in the direction of the current of the Gulf Stream, and the descent of the Arctic ice. It is, perhaps, well to remind some of our readers that the Bristol peninsula is never, in winter, as cold by several degrees as the neighboring towns, and that snow, sufficient for sleighing, is not of common occurrence. Moreover, the Northmen did not find the succeeding winters as mild.

‡ This enables us to determine the latitude of the place. They had Skalholt, Iceland time. The sun can rise and set at the time mentioned, on its shortest day, Oct. 17, only in latitude 41 degrees, 24 minutes, 10 seconds, almost exactly that of Mount Hope Bay.

pany went out from the camp the other was to remain as a guard, and the exploring party was never to go so far that it could not return on the same evening. Special charge was given them to keep together. In all his arrangements Leif showed himself a man well fitted for his position ; he was wise and moderate in all things, and exceedingly careful of the safety of his men. Like almost all of the Norse chieftains, he was a man “ strong, and of great stature,” and his bearing was most dignified.

Among the party was a German, Tyrker by name, who had lived for many years with Leif’s father in Iceland and Greenland. One day, when the exploring party came back, Tyrker was missing, and Leif, with twelve others, went in search of their lost comrade. Before they had gone far they met him returning, but the appearance of the German was most singular. While he seemed partly to recognize his companions, he yet stared strangely about, and addressed them not in Norse, but in his native tongue. After a time his mysterious behavior was explained ; he had wandered a little way from his party and found some vines with ripe grapes upon them. Tyrker had been born and brought up in a country where grapes abounded, but during the many years of his sojourn in the lands of ice and snow, the remembrance of it had almost faded from his mind. As he ate the pleasant fruit, the scenes of his youth came again before his eyes ; with the recollections of his childhood crowding upon him, he went back to join his comrades, and to tell them what he had found, but the merry voices of his German playmates were still ringing in his ears, and the Norse language was for a time forgotten. His discovery caused great joy, and was deemed so important that the name of Vinland was given to the country.

On the next day they began to gather and cure grapes, and to cut down timber, with which to load their ship for the return voyage. They filled their long boat with the grapes, and in the early spring went back to Greenland.

The return of Leif, and the accounts which his sailors gave, naturally caused much excitement in that quiet community,

and in the spring of 1002, Thorvald Ericson, taking his brother's ship, and probably some of his old crew, started on another voyage to Vinland. His object was to make a thorough exploration of the new country. To these venturesome seamen, accustomed to navigate the cold and stormy ocean which lay between the Icelandic colonies and their ancestral Norway; the journey to the sunny shores of this new land must have seemed only a pleasant excursion. The distance from Greenland to Vinland was no greater than that between Greenland and Norway, and the seas were never as boisterous.

Thorvald perished in this expedition, and so the account given is not as minute as we could wish. His followers naturally remembered and reported only the main facts of the voyage. They reached Vinland in safety, and passed three winters in the dwellings which Leif had erected, and which they called *Leifsbudir*, or *Leifsbooths*. The first year was spent in exploring the lands lying to the southward; in the second summer the adventurers turned their steps to the regions north of Cape Cod, and in this northern expedition Thorvald was shot and killed by the *Skraelings*, (natives).* His comrades buried him upon a promontory which they called *Krossaness*, — the Promontory of Crosses, — from the crosses which they placed over his grave,† and returning, passed the winter of 1004–5 in *Leifsbooths*. They went back to Greenland in the spring of 1005, and carried with them a large quantity of grapes, as their predecessors had done.

Two years later a more important character appeared upon the scene. Thorfinn Karlsefni sailed from Iceland on a voyage to the country of grapes — tarried for a while in Greenland, where he married his wife Gudrid, and then with three ships and one hundred and fifty-one (151) men, proceeded on his journey. With them went Gudrid and six other women, wives of the principal leaders, for it was pro-

* The name is derived from the verb *skraela*, and means lean or shrivelled men.

† Christianity had been introduced into Greenland by Leif Ericson in 999.

posed to colonize the land. Thorfinn wintered on the shores and islands of Buzzard's Bay, and here, in the year 1007, Snorri Thorfinnson* was born, as far as we know the first child of European blood who was born on the soil of the American continent.

The spot which had been selected for their winter encampment seemed most pleasant, and promised abundant pasturage for the cattle which the explorers had brought with them. But the mild breezes which had fanned the shores of Vinland seven years before no longer blew. The cold blasts came sweeping down from the north, the forests were blocked with snow, the waters covered with ice. The would-be colonists, relying upon the mildness of the climate, had brought no stores with them; they could neither hunt nor fish, and so almost perished from hunger. A whale, cast up upon the shore, saved them in their time of greatest need, and furnished them a food supply until the sun loosened the icy fetters which had been fastened upon them.

Coasting along the shore in the spring of 1008, Thorfinn came to the "river flowing through a lake" which Leif had described, was detained by the shallows at its mouth, as Ericson had been, and at high tide sailed up to where the river opened out into the lake.

This place the Northmen called Hóp.†

The dwellings which had afforded ample shelter for Leif and his party of thirty-five, could not accommodate this expedition of almost five times that number. Additional houses were erected, some near the bay, others at a distance from its

* From him the sculptor Thorvaldsen is descended.

† This probably was the origin of the Indian name Haup, or Montaup, from which the present name Mount Hope is derived. The Plymouth settlers only anglicized the name which had been given to the Mount Hope Lands by the Indian owners. There is no mention made in the saga of the return of two of the chiefs of this expedition to Iceland. It is quite likely that, with some of their followers, they remained at Hóp and married some of the Indian women. Thus, while all traces of them would be lost in the course of a few generations, yet some of the names which they gave might be retained. It is difficult otherwise to account for the name Haup, which many familiar with the Indian language have declared to be *not* Indian, and which yet was undoubtedly applied to the country by the native tribes when the English colonists first heard of the territory.

shores. Thorfinn noticed that where the land was low, corn grew wild; where it rose higher, vines were found. He, also, was struck with the abundance of the fish,* and reported, besides, that many wild animals were found in the forests. This description agrees well with the accounts given almost seven hundred years later by the earliest settlers of Bristol.

The winter of 1008-9 was mild; no snow fell, and the cattle lived unhoused.

In the autumn of 1008, the Skraelings visited the little settlement, and in the following spring came again in great numbers to exchange their skins for goods. The traffic was broken off by the appearance of one of the bulls which Thorfinn had brought with him, and which had been turned loose to graze. This creature rushed bellowing from the forest, and so terrified the Skraelings that they paddled away in their canoes as quickly as they could. After a month they came back again, this time not to barter, but to fight; and in the engagement which followed, two of the Northmen fell, and numbers of the natives were killed.

This battle convinced Thorfinn's people that the lands, though excellent in quality, would yet be undesirable for a colony, by reason of the hostility of the other inhabitants. Retracing their course, therefore, they remained for a time at their first winter encampment, then sailing homeward, reached Ericsford, in Greenland, in 1010.

From this time expeditions to Vinland became frequent, "for they were esteemed both lucrative and honorable," and being frequent, were not regarded as worthy of special commemoration. We have, however, in the *Antiquitates Americane*, an account of one other, that of Freydis, and her husband Thorvard, which was made in 1011. Freydis was a daughter of Eric, and sister of both Leif and Thorvald, and it is by reason of this kinship that her story is given. It is

* The Northmen dug pits in the sand where the tide rose highest, and at low tide there remained "sacred fish" in these pits. The name "sacred fish" is still used in Iceland, and is given to flatfish of the flounder and halibut kind. These may be caught in the same manner to-day.

quite probable that other narratives may hereafter be brought to light.

The annals of Iceland record that in 1121 Eric, Bishop of Greenland, sailed thence to Vinland, which would seem to prove that a permanent colony had been established there. In 1347 it is stated in the same annals, that a Greenland ship on a voyage to Markland was driven by a stress of weather to Straumfiord, in Iceland, just as we in the paper of to-morrow may read that the ship — from New York to Canton, has taken refuge in Newport harbor, to escape the terrible storm which is raging outside.

The last Bishop of Greenland was appointed in 1406, and since that time *the Colony has never been heard of*. Its two hundred and eighty villages can only be traced by the extensive ruins along the shores. Whether the colonists were overwhelmed by the masses of ice which came surging down from the polar regions, or whether they were killed by the natives, we have no means of knowing. Perhaps they perished through the fierce feuds which often sundered those northern communities: perhaps they sailed southward to die in the country which Biarni Heriulfson had discovered. The midnight of the Dark Ages had settled upon Europe, and all interest in the fate of that remote people was lost. For more than three hundred years the Greenland Colony disappeared from history, and with it all knowledge of Vinland passed away from the minds of men. Only within a comparatively recent period have the old parchments on which these deeds were recorded been rescued from oblivion, and even now they are accessible to most readers only in the Latin translation, which the society of Northern Antiquarians has published.

CHAPTER II.

THE VOYAGE OF VERRUZANO.

THE discoveries of Columbus, and the marvelous tales respecting the inexhaustible fertility and the wondrous treasures of silver and of gold of the countries which he had brought under the sway of Spain, induced many of the sovereigns of Europe to send out exploring vessels which should secure for them also, by right of discovery, a share in these rich possessions. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, and one which has been often noticed by historians, that nearly all of the famous captains concerned in American explorations in the early part of the sixteenth century, were Italians. Among these was a Florentine named Verruzano (or Verrazani), who sailed in the employ of King Francis I., of France. The account of his voyage, which is here given, is condensed from *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 3d volume of the Quarto Edition, published in London in the year 1800. The narrative is specially interesting because it contains the earliest full description of the coast and the people of North America.

In the spring of 1524, Verruzano sailed along the coast from North Carolina to Newfoundland, in the ship Dauphin (Dolphin), and gave the whole country the name of New France. Without disembarking, he passed Block Island, which he describes as being "in form of a triangle, distant from the main land ten leagues," (the French league was then seven-tenths of a mile shorter than the present league,) "about the bigness of the Island of Rhodes: it was full of hills, covered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires along the coast! We gave it the name of Your Majesty's mother."*

* Louise was the name of the mother of Francis I.

“ We came to another land, being fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a passing good haven, wherein being entered, we found about twenty small boats of the people, which, with divers cries and wonderings, came about our ship, coming no nearer than fifty paces toward us, they stayed and beheld the artificialness of our ship, our shape and apparel, then they all made a loud shout together, declaring that they rejoiced: when we had something animated them, using their gestures they came so near us that we cast them certain bells and glasses, and many toys, which, when they had received, they looked on them with laughing, and came without fear aboard our ship.

“ They were dressed in deer-skins, wrought artificially with divers branches like damaske, their hair was tied up behind with divers knots. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions that we have found in this our voyage; they exceed us in bigness, they are of the color of brass, some of them incline more to whiteness, others are of yellow color, of comely visage, with long and black hair, which they are very careful to trim and deck up, they are of sweet and pleasant countenance. The women are very handsome and well formed, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold; they are as well mannered as any women, they wear deer-skins branched or embroidered as the men use, there are also some of them which wear on their arms very rich skins of Luzernes,* they wear divers ornaments according to the usage of the people of the East.

“ Every day the people repaired to see our ship, bringing their wives with them, whereof they are very jealous, and caused their wives to stay in their boats, and for all the entreaty we could make, we could never obtain that they would suffer them to come aboard our ship. There were two kings of so goodly stature and shape, as is impossible to declare: the eldest was about forty years of age, the second was a young man of twenty years old; and when they came on board, the

* This animal (the luzerne or lucern), is by some supposed to be the lynx.

queen and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an island a quarter of a league off.

“The mouth of the haven lieth open to the south, half a league broad, and being entered within it, between the east and the north it stretcheth twelve leagues, where it waxeth broader and broader, and makes a gulf about twenty leagues in compass, wherein are five small islands, very fruitful and pleasant; full of high and broad trees, among the which islands any great navy may ride safe. This land is situated in the parallel of Rome, in 41 degrees and 2 terces. The 5th of May we departed.”

Verruzano found vines and grapes, as the Northmen had found them in Vinland so many years before, and he also speaks of “oaks and cypress trees, and other sorts unknown in Europe, damson and nut trees. Beasts were there in great abundance, as harts, deer, luzernes, and other kinds.” The boats of these Indians were made of one log, hollowed out by means of fire and tools of stone, and large enough to carry ten or fifteen men. “Their houses were made in circular form, ten or twelve paces in compass, covered with mats of straw, wrought cunningly together.” For fifteen days the ship of the Italian captain lay at anchor in the harbor of Newport, while in his boats he made many excursions up the bay, and without doubt visited the spot where Bristol now stands.

In the year 1614, Adrian Block, a Dutch navigator, starting from New Amsterdam, first of all Europeans sailed through Hurlgate, explored the coast of Connecticut, and fixed his own name upon that island to which Verruzano had given the name of the mother of his royal employer. “Afterward, like his Italian predecessor, he sailed into Narragansett Bay, where he commemorated the fiery aspect of the place, caused by the red clay in some portions of its shores, by giving it the name of Roodt Eylandt,—the Red Island,—and by easy transposition, Rhode Island.”* It is very probable that his vessel anchored in the harbors of the Mount Hope Lands, but no complete narrative of his voyage can now be found.

* Arnold's Hist. of R. I., I. 70.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST VISIT TO MASSASOJET.*

ON the 22d of March, 1621, a band of Indian warriors appeared on a hill which overlooked the little settlement of the Plymouth colonists. Their chief was "a very lusty man, grave of countenance, spare of speech, in his attire differing little or nothing from his followers." His face was painted a "sad red" and oiled, as were those of his subjects: a great chain of white bone beads was about his neck, and from it hung a little bag of tobacco. "In his bosom, hanging in a string, was a great long knife." The faces of some of the warriors were only half painted, others were stained with various colors, while some cheeks were decorated with crosses and with the strange figures in which the savage taste delighted. The bodies of some were naked, others were clad in skins. All the Indians bore the weapons common to savage warfare in their hands, and "all were strong, tall men in appearance." They were chosen warriors from the Pokanoket tribe of Indians, and their chieftain was Massasoiet.

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Massasoiet was one of the most powerful of the North American sachems, though his dominions had been terribly afflicted by the same pestilence which, shortly before that time, had almost annihilated the other Indian tribes of New England. Nearly all

* This name is usually written Massasoit. The historical writers of the earlier days seemed to recognize an additional vowel sound which this later spelling by no means conveys; the older form has therefore been adopted here.

the tribes inhabiting the country lying between the Massachusetts and the Narragansett bays acknowledged his supreme control, and many of the surrounding tribes also owned their dependence upon him.

Under the general name of Pokanokets all these smaller tribes were included. The ravages of the plague had reduced the number of their warriors from three thousand to five hundred, but the Wampanoags, the particular tribe of Massasoiet and his successor, Philip, had suffered less severely than their neighbors; by reason of the fertility of the land which they inhabited, and the uncommon facilities for fishing which its waters afforded, they were rapidly recovering from its devastating effects. At this time, however, the number of their fighting men did not exceed sixty.

Massasoiet had heard strange tidings of this band of colonists which had come from unknown lands beyond the sea. Stories of their undaunted courage, their unshaken spirit in the midst of the most terrible trials, and above all, of those wondrous weapons whose mighty and mysterious voice called their victims to instant death, had reached his ears. With the genius of a statesman, he saw at once the advantages which would result from an alliance with such powerful neighbors, and so at the earliest possible moment he had come to make with them a treaty of peace. The result of the visit was satisfactory to both parties. A treaty, proposed by the Governor, and agreed to by Massasoiet, was concluded, "and its conditions were faithfully observed for a period of fifty-five years, exhibiting an instance of unexampled good faith, fidelity and honesty in both parties."

In July, 1621, Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins were sent by Governor Bradford to return the visit of Massasoiet. The object of the journey was "to gain a better knowledge of the country, to ascertain the strength and power of the sachem, to apologize for some misbehaviors, to strengthen and regulate an intercourse, to procure corn, and to strengthen their mutual good understanding." They carried with them, as presents, a horseman's laced coat of red cotton and a cop-

per chain. With them went the Indian, Squanto, as guide and interpreter.*

The residence of the chieftain was at Sowams, in the territory of Pokanoket. When the English landed at Patuxet, the name Montop (or Monthaup), which had been given by the Indians to the hill in Bristol, was by them anglicized to Mount Hope, and the name of Mount Hope Neck was given to the whole country as far as Miles' Bridge, in Swanzea. "On this neck were three Indian villages,—Montop, located near the Mount; Kikemuit, around the spring of that name, and Sowams, or Sowamset, near the spot where the village of Warren now stands," † and not far from the old boundary line between Warren and Bristol. As Massasoiet was absent when they reached his residence, one of the Plymouth men attempted to charge his gun, in order to give notice of their arrival, but the women and children were greatly frightened, and their terror could not be appeased until he had desisted, and the interpreter had explained their pacific intentions. The chief, having been apprised of their arrival, soon returned, and received them with much joy; he accepted, with pleasure, the presents which they had brought, and immediately proceeded to attire himself therewith. The salute which they gave him on his arrival, by discharging their muskets, seemed to charm him greatly, and the gorgeous raiment delighted both the sachem and his followers. The Englishmen requested Massasoiet to send this chain as a token, whenever he sent any messengers to Plymouth, in order that no deception might be practiced. To all the requests which they brought forward, Massasoiet gave a ready assent, and after he had addressed the messengers he harangued his own people, setting forth his authority over more than thirty places, and directing them to carry their furs and skins to the English.

* Squanto was the sole remaining native at Patuxet, or Plymouth, when the Pilgrims landed. He was one of the twenty-seven Indians who had been treacherously carried away some years before by the English Captain, Hunt. He had lived for some time in London, and had learned a little English. He became greatly attached to the Plymouth colonists, and continued their firm friend until his death. His name is also written Squantum and Tisquantum.

† Fessenden's History of Warren.

His speech was received with great applause. "After this," the narrator goes on, "he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and the King's majesty." He entreated Winslow to use his influence with the colony to prevent the French from trading at Narraganset, saying that "it was King James' country and he was King James' man." He evidently feared the power of the Narragansets; said that they were a strong people, and had suffered nothing from the plague.

As Massasoiet had not been informed of the intended visit of the colonists, and had been absent for some time before their arrival, no provisions had been collected at Sowams. The sachem and his guests were therefore compelled to go supperless to bed, a striking illustration of the unthrift which characterizes savage life. The abode of the chief was a wigwam a little larger than those of his followers. The sleeping-place was a platform of boards, raised somewhat above the ground and covered with a thin mat. On this bed, says the English chronicler, Massasoiet placed his visitors, "with himself and his wife, they at one end and the Englishmen at the other, and two more of Massasoiet's men pressed by and upon them, so that they were worse weary of the lodging than the journey."

On the next day came many of the neighboring chiefs with their followers to see the visitors. At one o'clock of that day Massasoiet was able to set upon the table two large boiled fishes which had been shot that morning. These fish were all the food at hand with which to satisfy the hunger of the sachem's guests, now numbering somewhat more than forty. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Winslow and Hopkins, notwithstanding the fact that Massasoiet importuned them to stay longer, deemed it best to depart on that day, which they did, leaving the chief both grieved and ashamed that he could entertain them no better.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND VISIT TO MASSASOJET.

IN March, 1623, tidings came to Plymouth that Massasoiet was sick and likely to die, and also that a Dutch vessel had been stranded near his residence. The Indians, when sick, always expected visits from their friends. It therefore seemed best to Governor Bradford to send another party to visit the chief and to have a conference with the Dutch. The talents of Edward Winslow, his former visit, his friendship to Massasoiet, and his knowledge of the Dutch language marked him as the most fit man for the expedition. With him went, as a companion, an English gentleman whose home was in London but who was sojourning at Plymouth, and who greatly desired to see the Indian country. For this young man, fate had in store a most glorious future. To him it was reserved to take the lead of the English people in their struggle against the arbitrary power of the Crown, and to shed his life-blood in that great contest which gave to England a free constitution. His name was John Hampden. An Indian, Hobbamock, went as guide, for Squanto, Winslow's guide in his first visit, had died some time before. The story is given in Winslow's own graphic words, though his account is somewhat shortened. "We set forward and lodged the first night at Namasket.* The next day, about one o'clock, we came to a ferry † in Combiant's country. Upon my discharging my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us that Massasowat was dead and that day buried. This news struck

* Middleborough, Mass. † Across the Taunton River.

us blank, but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now that he being dead, Combitant was most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst, his dwelling-place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend to us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him and the rest of the sachems thereabout; and though it were somewhat dangerous in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him which he might fitly revenge, yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in His mercy, I resolved to put it in practice if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went toward Mattapuyst. In the way, Hobbamock brake forth into these speeches: ‘My loving sachem, O, my loving sachem! Many have I known, but never any like thee.’ And turning him to me, said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians; from anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he ofttimes restrained their malice, etc.,—continuing a long speech with signs of unfeigned sorrow.

“At length we came to Mattapuyst and went to the sachem’s place, but Combitant was not there but at Puckanokick, which was five or six miles off. The sachem’s wife gave us friendly entertainment. Here we enquired again concerning Massasowat; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Combitant with our there being. About half an hour before the sun setting the messenger returned and told us he was not dead, though there was no hope we should find him

living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise as it distempered us who were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight wholly gone, he asked who was come. They told him, Winsnow,—for they cannot pronounce the letter l, but ordinarily use n in place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, ‘Keen Winsnow?’ which is to say, ‘Art thou Winslow?’ I answered ‘Ahhe,’ that is, yes. Then he doubled these words: ‘Matta neen wonckanet nanem, Winsnow!’ that is to say, ‘O, Winslow! I shall never see thee again.’ Then I called Hobbamock and desired him to tell Massasowat that the Governor, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though by many businesses he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do good in this extremity, and whereof if he pleased to take I would presently give him; which he desired, and having a confection of many comfortable conserves on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those about him much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed anything in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred and his tongue swelled in such a manner as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth and scraped his tongue. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink; I dissolved some of it in water and gave

him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after, his sight began to come to him, which gave him and us good encouragement. I inquired how he slept, and they said he slept not in two days before. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him: and would stay the return of his messenger if he desired. This he took marvelous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter.

“He requested me, that the day following I would take my piece and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root and sliced a piece thereof and boiled it till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; also, he took some rest; insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving His blessing to such raw and ignorant means, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation.

“That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those who were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive

to me. After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could. So I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered. So we returned forthwith and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time.

“About an hour after he began to be very sick, cast up the broth, and began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Concluding now he must die, they asked me what I thought of him. I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life; for if it ceased in time, he could forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted. Not long after his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours. When he awaked I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But on a sudden he chopped his nose in the water and drew up some therein, and sent it forth with such violence as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope; but we perceived it was but the tenderness of the nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

“The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Many whilst we were there came to see him; some, by their report, from a place not less than a hundred miles. To all that came, one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how his friends, the English, came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered to him this strength they saw. Upon this, his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: ‘Now I see the English are my friends, and love me, and whilst I live I will never forget this kindness they have showed me.’ Being fitted out for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves for our labor and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.”

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF MASSASOJET TO THE BEGINNING OF KING PHILIP'S WAR.

MASSASOJET lived for thirty-nine years after the second visit, and ever remained the firm friend of the white men. The election of Winslow to the governorship served to render him still more attached to the colonists. Whatever he could accomplish by his influence, or bring about through his power, was used to strengthen their interests. He saw shipload after shipload of new settlers disembarking and landing upon his ancestral domains. For all these he cheerfully furnished homes by making new grants from the unimproved but fertile lands of his broad territory. Ere he died, the feeble band which had landed at Plymouth had become a powerful colony: already their kinsmen began to look with covetous eyes upon the fair Indian heritage, and day by day to encroach upon the domains of their dusky neighbors. Massasoiet beheld without alarm their attempts at territorial aggrandizement: his savage mind, knowing nothing of the mighty energy, the resistless force which had characterized the career of his allies in past centuries, could not foresee that the time would soon come, when, even upon the vast continent of America, there would not be room enough for the white men and the Indians to live peaceably together, that step by step the Indian must recede to the great plains lying far to the westward, there gradually to fall before the deadly weapons and still more deadly vices of their once feeble neighbors. The Indian sachem saw his tribe increasing in

power and influence among the neighboring tribes exactly in proportion as the strength of his English allies increased. His lands, depopulated as they had almost been by the pestilence, seemed to him large enough to furnish homes to all who might ask for them, and he went down to his grave in happy ignorance of the terrible fate which was so soon to befall his unfortunate descendants.

Early in the year 1662, Massasoiet died and was succeeded by his son Wamsutta. The reign of this ill-starred chieftain, who is better known in history by his English name of Alexander, was short. Summoned by the English to attend the court at Plymouth, to answer some false accusation which had been made against him, his haughty spirit could not brook the indignities to which he was exposed; chafing under the disgraces which had been heaped upon him, he fell an easy victim to the attacks of a fever, which was no doubt brought on by the unfeeling and brutal treatment of the men to whom his father had shown so many kindnesses. Before he had been for a year the chief of the Wampanoags he died, and was succeeded by his brother Philip.

Of the first years of Philip's reign we know but little. He continued to grant new lands to the white settlers, as his father and brother had done before him, and gave the colonists reason to suppose that he would continue the peaceful policy of Massasoiet. Not such was the intention of this Indian warrior; his comprehensive mind clearly discerned the inevitable fate which must befall his people unless the advance of the white men was checked, and his active brain early began to devise measures which might restore the waning supremacy of his race.

Fair now is the prospect which delights the sons and the daughters of Bristol as they stand upon the summit of Mount Hope and gaze upon the matchless panorama of verdant fields, of waving forests, and of sparkling waters which lies unveiled before them. The ceaseless energy and the wise forethought of their fathers have made these fields to "blossom as the rose," their tireless daring has subdued the

wild forces of the sea, and made it the highway upon which the products of lands lying beneath far distant skies might come to contribute to their comfort and to increase their riches.

But fairer and dearer to the eye of the Indian chieftain was the spectacle which more than two hundred years ago entranced his wandering gaze. Every spot on which his eye rested was rich to him from association and tradition. Here his ancestors for unknown ages had lived and died. The woods had echoed to their joyous shouts as the fierce wild beasts fell before their victorious weapons; the waters had flashed beneath their canoes as the vigorous arms of the dusky oarsmen urged them over the tossing billows; there were the glades where the shy maiden had loitered with her delighted lover, and just beyond were the green hillsides where the bones of his fathers were resting. With an intensity which we of this age of change can scarcely realize, the Indian loved the home of his ancestors, and every look which Philip gave to that beautiful picture must have encouraged him to more mighty exertions to secure to his descendants this ancient patrimony of his race.

The fields which he sold to the grasping white men were sold for weapons with which he might defend the lands of Mount Hope. Week by week, and month by month, the work of preparation went on, and while the English were resting in fancied security in their cheaply bought homesteads, Philip was journeying from tribe to tribe, and by his burning zeal inciting each warrior to bear his part in the heroic but unavailing struggle which was so soon to come. In all his negotiations, the son of Massasoiet proved himself a man of extraordinary ability, the most wonderful Indian leader whom this country has produced. Tribes which for centuries had been deadly enemies were by him induced to clasp hands in friendship, and to join the alliance against the common enemy. The colonists heard, from time to time, the mutterings of the coming storm, but did not dream of its terrible might until it was almost upon them. The Indian was never inclined rashly to

share his intentions with his neighbors, and the far-reaching plan of destruction which Philip had devised made secrecy more than usually necessary. Nearly all the tribes of New England had been drawn into the conspiracy and were only awaiting the signal from the sachem at Pokanoket to descend with torch, tomahawk and scalping-knife, upon the lonely cabins in the country lying between the Penobscot and the Hudson rivers.

The spring of the year 1676 had been fixed upon as the time for the general uprising. No wars for thirty-eight years had disturbed the peace of the New England colonies, and such was their sense of security, and such the art of the Indian leader, that but for one of those accidents which often thwart the best-laid plans, and which forced the Indians to begin the war a little sooner than they had intended, nothing could have saved them from entire destruction.

John Sausaman, a Natick Indian, had been educated by Eliot, the Indian apostle, and had by him been baptized. Like most of his race who embraced Christianity, he soon became weary of the cold formality of the Puritan colonists, and again took up his abode with his kindred. When Philip went to Plymouth, in 1662, to renew the league which had been made by his father, Massasoiet, Sausaman attended him as secretary and interpreter. Soon after this he committed some offence which brought upon him the displeasure of Philip, and, fearing the chieftain's wrath, he returned to Eliot, was rebaptized, and again took up his residence at Natick. Here he soon made himself not only to be held in great estimation by the Naticks, but also greatly valued by the English. During his sojourn with Philip he had been entrusted with a knowledge of all his plans, and when again a resident of Natick he had occasion frequently to visit the country of the Wampanoags, and often met the sachem himself. Being a man of much shrewdness, he soon learned the desperate plans of Philip and communicated what he knew to his friends, the English. Shortly after this time, in the spring of the year 1675, he disappeared, and after much

search his dead body was found under the ice in a pond in what is now Middleborough, Mass. It was thought that he had been killed by the Indians because they suspected him to have disclosed their plot. The government of Plymouth, even after this warning, took no other precaution than to direct a military watch to be kept over Philip's territory. For the murder of Sausaman three of Philip's men were tried, condemned on evidence which would by no means be deemed sufficient at the present day, and executed without any delay. This so exasperated the followers of Philip that he could no longer restrain their violence. How much of his plan had been detected by Sausaman he did not know, but fearing that the colonists were apprised of its full extent, he deemed it best no longer to check the ardor of his subjects, but at once to begin the war.

The history of this war has been carefully written by able historians; it seems advisable, therefore, merely to recount its principal events, and to devote these pages especially to a description of what was done in the Mount Hope territory and the lands bordering upon it. The account follows closely the narrative of Capt. Benjamin Church, who was an eye-witness of most of the scenes which he describes, and whose truthfulness has never been questioned.

CHAPTER VI.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

IN the spring of 1675 Philip sent messengers to the chiefs of the surrounding tribes, urging them at once to rise against the English. Among the rest, six men were sent to Awashonks, the squaw sachem of the Seaconnet Indians. Shortly before this time, however, an English captain had settled in the Seaconnet territory who was destined to exert a mighty influence in the war which followed, and whose name at last carried with it as much of terror to the Indians as did that of Cœur de Lion to the wild hordes upon the deserts of the East. His name was Benjamin Church. Captain Church ever displayed a most wonderful tact in dealing with the Indians. He had already acquired much influence with Awashonks, and was invited to be present at the dance which was to follow the arrival of the Wampanoag envoys. When Church reached the place appointed he found the princess herself leading the dance, while around her were gathered hundreds of warriors from all parts of her kingdom. The Mount Hope men were also there, "with their faces painted, their hair trimmed up in comb fashion,* and their powder-horns and shot-bags at their backs," as was the custom among the Indian tribes when war had been resolved upon. The conference which followed was long and stormy, and more than once the life of Church was in imminent danger. The sturdy warrior manifested no concern for his own safety. He told the Indians that "if nothing but war would satisfy

* Like the comb of a cock.

them, he believed he would be a thorn in their sides," and at last persuaded the wavering Awashonks to throw herself upon the protection of the government of Plymouth. At her earnest solicitation he set out for the English colony, to confer with its governor in her behalf, and on the way met Weetamoe,* Queen of Pocasset, whom he also induced to promise to remain faithful to the colonists. At Pocasset, Church met Peter Nannuit, the husband of Weetamoe, who informed him that Philip was bent upon war — that he had held a dance at Mount Hope for several weeks, and had entertained young men from all parts of the country. He also said that James Brown, † of Swansey, and Samuel Gorton had gone to Mount Hope during the dance. The young men wished to kill Mr. Brown, but Philip prevented them, saying that his father had "charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown." Before Church could return from Plymouth to Seaconnet the war had already begun, and the Seaconnets, like all their neighbors, were drawn into it; but although his mission was then unsuccessful it was productive of much good toward the end of the war, for those Indians were by him persuaded to abandon the fortunes of Philip, and to join themselves as allies to the English, when the colonists most needed their assistance.

On Sunday, June 20th, the war was begun by the Indians. They plundered the empty houses of the settlers on Pokanoket neck. The inhabitants of these houses were all at church, and one account says that the Indians offered no violence to the settlers whom they met, because an idea prevailed that the side would be conquered which should shed the first blood. Another writer records that the Indians, while engaged in hostile demonstrations, were fired upon and wounded by the colonists.

An express was sent immediately to Governor Winslow to acquaint him with the situation. He at once issued an order

* Weetamoe was the widow of Alexander, and sister of Wootonekanuske, Philip's wife.

† Brown was a magistrate of Plymouth from 1670-75, and was very active in the war. At this time he bore letters from the Plymouth government to Philip, which were designed to pacify Philip. Gorton was his interpreter.

calling out the Plymouth Colony troops, notified the Massachusetts governor of the state of affairs, and appointed the following Thursday to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer. The Plymouth forces reached Swansey June 21, and were posted at Major Brown's house and at Miles' Bridge.* These garrisons were



The Cold Spring Monument.

at Mattapoiset, in Swansey, twelve miles from Mount Hope. In Swansey, then a town covering some miles of territory, the first English blood was shed. A party had been sent out from the garrison at Mattapoiset to bring in some corn which had been left in a deserted house. The Indians fell upon them and killed and mortally wounded six men. The noise of the fighting was heard at the garrison, but the affair was over before reinforcements came. It is said that Philip wept when he heard of the death of these men. On the 24th of June the colonists were again attacked while returning from the fast day service. One man was killed and two were wounded.

The main body of the forces was stationed at Miles' Bridge, because over this was the best route to Philip's country, but Philip by this time had begun to fear lest he might be hemmed in upon the Mount Hope peninsula, and so on June 29th, with all his men, he left Pokanoket and passed over to Pocasset (Tiverton). On Wednesday, the 30th, the whole English force marched down Mount Hope Neck towards Philip's abode. At Keekamuit were found the heads of eight

* Miles' Bridge was over the Palmer River, four miles north of Warren.

men set upon poles. Two miles beyond they came to the empty wigwams, where many things were seen scattered about in great confusion, thus attesting the hasty flight of their owners. Half a mile further on they passed through fields of corn and came to Philip's own wigwam. Two miles more brought them to Bristol Ferry, without seeing any Indians. The Indian leader had wisely determined that the war must be waged in wider fields, and not until he saw his allies deserting his lost fortunes, his warriors diminishing daily in numbers, and all his hopes withering, did he come back to make the last desperate and unavailing stand in defense of his country and his life. The English remained that night near the sea, and on the next day returned to Swansey, being convinced that no Indians remained at Mount Hope.

Captain Church insisted that Philip had gone to Pocasset to induce the Indians living in that part of the country to join the conspiracy: that he had not been beaten out of the Neck but had gone of his own accord, and that it was advisable to fight him at once at Pocasset, before the wavering tribes had cast in their lot with his. His counsels were disregarded, and the English commander resolved to build a fort which should command the principal entrance (by land) to the Indian possessions. The plan of building a fort, Church denounced as being most absurd. It would consume much time; forts were useless in Indian warfare, and why, moreover, should they build a fort in a country already deserted. Nevertheless, the fort was built, * and instead of a body suf-

* *Note from Fessenden's History of Warren, 1845.* The writer, after diligent search, was fortunate enough to discover the remains of this fort. They are situated opposite the narrows of Kickemuit River in Bristol, on the top of the most southwestern of several hills, on the north side of a cove. They consist now chiefly of the remains of the fire-place in the fort. This fire-place was made by preparing a suitable excavation and laying low stone walls at the sides and the end, for which flat stones were used, evidently brought from the adjoining beach. The remains of these ruins are now beneath the surface of the ground, which at this place is depressed several inches below the average surface of the ground in the immediate vicinity. The hill is fast wearing away, by the action of the water which washes its base. The wearing away has already reached the fire-place, from which the charcoal and burnt stones are often falling down the steeply inclined plane beneath. It was here that Captain Church, when on his singular and adventurous expedition to capture Annawan, roasted horse-beef for his men on the 28th of August, 1776. Here, also, he confined several prisoners; he "had catched ten

ficiently strong to oppose the force which the Indian chief had gathered at Pocasset, only fifty men (and those unskilled in savage warfare) were sent to oppose him.

(The land on which the fort was erected is now owned by Mr. Seth W. Thayer.)

Captain Fuller was the leader of this company, and Church was its lieutenant. Fuller asked Church whether he would take the leadership, saying that "he feared the travel and fatigue would be too much for him, as he was ancient and heavy." The future conqueror of Philip was only too glad of the opportunity, and cheerfully took it upon himself to excuse Captain Fuller from the inconveniences which might befall him if he ventured into the hostile territory. For himself, he said that he "would rather do anything in the world than stay and build that fort." The expedition was only successful in affording its leader an opportunity to display his matchless prowess. His men did not properly support him, and he was forced to return to the garrison at Mount Hope.

Shortly after this Philip was compelled to retire from the Pocasset territory, and fled to the Nipmuck country. Then the tide of war rolled away from the Mount Hope lands and beat with terrible fury against the unprotected settlements in the country lying between Maine and New York. For more than a year the dreadful conflict was carried on. All New England was in mourning for "the flower and strength of the country, who had fallen in battle or been murdered by the enemy." At least six hundred men were killed; thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Rhode Island were entirely destroyed and many others were greatly damaged. "Six hundred buildings, mostly dwelling-houses, were consumed by fire." The colonists expended more than £100,000 in their effort to suppress the war, and the loss in goods and cattle was immense. But the doom of the Indians was sealed. Dreadful as was the loss of the English, still more horrible was the fate of the unhappy Philip. One by one the con-

Indians," and they guarded them all night in one of the flankers of the old English garrison. See Church's History, page 130, Ed. of 1827.

federate tribes abandoned him: the friends who had flocked to his side in his prosperity deserted him when Fortune no longer smiled. His brother and his most trusted followers fell in battle at his side. His wife and his only son were taken by the English. Day by day his dominion was contracted until he could no longer call the ground which he occupied his own. He was forced to leave the open country in which the Red men had hunted for unknown ages, and to take refuge in the deepest recesses of the forests and the swamps. Yet even then, so high and unyielding was his temper that he put to death one of his followers who had presumed to speak of peace. He seemed to bear a charmed life, and passed unharmed through the most deadly perils. He assumed so many disguises that it was almost impossible to recognize him, and this fact may perhaps account for his long immunity from wounds. The battle in the Bridgewater swamp seemed to shatter his last hopes of safety. After the fight one of Captain Church's Indians said to him, "Sir! you have now made Philip ready to die, for you have made him as poor and miserable as he used to make the English. You have now killed or taken all his relations. We believe you will soon have his head, and this affair has almost broken his heart." The free child of nature, who had wandered unrestrained through mountain forest and verdant meadow, now hunted and despairing, "like the deer returned to his natal spot to die."

Not from the weapon of the white man was to come the death-bearing missile. His priests had assured him that by the hand of the English he should not die, and truly was their prophecy fulfilled. Captain Church had succeeded, sometime before, in reconciling Awashonks to the English, and had taken one hundred and forty of her subjects into his service. During the first part of the war the Plymouth government had treated Church most shamefully, but was forced, finally, to give him a command suited to his merits. When the news was brought to him that Philip had taken refuge in the swamp at the foot of Mount Hope, he immediately set out with his

company for the place, being determined at once to effect his capture and thus terminate the war. An Indian deserter informed him that the sachem and his followers had taken possession of a small knoll, on the margin of a miry swamp, and offered his services as a guide. The assaulting company was made up both of Indians and Englishmen. They were directed to approach Philip's camp as silently as possible, and not to show themselves until daylight. Church rightly conjectured that the hunted band would rush into the swamp as soon as the alarm was given, and therefore placed a part of his company in ambush behind the trees, an Indian and an Englishman being placed together. Philip was relating to his friends a dream which had disheartened him in the night; the dream had placed him in the hands of his foes, and it seemed to him to presage his speedy end. At this moment one of his followers happened to glance toward the spot where two of their enemies were concealed. The Englishman saw the glance, and, thinking himself discovered, fired his gun. The Pokanokets, without resisting, at once plunged forward to escape, and Philip rushed straight upon two of the party in ambush. The Englishman first aimed at the chieftain, but his gun missed fire; his companion, Alderman, one of the Seacomet tribe, fired, his bullet penetrated the heart of Philip, and the terrible warrior fell forward upon his face in the mire of the swamp.* He was instantly dragged forth, and the body was identified from his scarred hand, which had been badly torn some years before by the bursting of a pistol. His head was afterwards cut off, as was also the hand, and the latter was given to Alderman as a trophy. This hand was preserved

* In 1876 the two hundredth anniversary of Philip's death was observed at Bristol with appropriate ceremonies, under the direction of the Rhode Island Historical Society. On the summit of Mount Hope a boulder monument, erected in 1877, bears the inscription:—

" KING PHILIP,
August 12, 1676, O. S."

Beside Cold Spring a massive block of granite records that:—

" In the Miry Swamp, 166 feet W. S. W.
from this Spring, according to tradition,
King Philip fell, August 12, 1676, O. S."

in a pail of rum and exhibited by its owner throughout the colonies. The headless body was quartered and hung up to rot above the ground. As he had caused many an Englishman's body to lie unburied, so his exulting captors determined that not one of his bones should be buried.

Thus, on the 12th of August, 1676, fell this illustrious sachem, the most able Indian warrior and leader whom the people of this country have had to fight. By his foes his character has been painted in the darkest colors. It was not in their nature to be magnanimous to a fallen enemy who had inflicted upon them such terrible calamities. A "damnable wretch," a "hellish monster," a "bloody villain," are the epithets which our pious ancestors delighted to bestow upon him, and even the generous Church, in describing his capture, calls him a "doleful, great, dirty beast." But, as the mists of passion have rolled away, the character of the departed chieftain has been rising in the estimation of mankind. We see in him the patriot, brooding over the wrongs which were daily inflicted upon his race, and rising, at last, in righteous indignation to take vengeance upon its insolent and grasping oppressors. Deeds of blood he undoubtedly committed, devastation and death ever marked the path of Indian warfare, but no vengeance so inhuman as the burning of the old men, the women and the children, in the wigwams of the Narragansett swamp, ever sullied his reputation, and his treatment of his English captives was always more generous than that which his foes accorded to him. For every deed of horror which is charged against the Indians by the historians of that time, a parallel can be found in those same pages where the writers exult, in glowing words, over the chastisements which they, as the chosen instruments of God, have been enabled to inflict upon their heathen enemies. Philip fought as his ancestors had always fought, but the English met the atrocities which the Indians committed by an atrocity still more brutal, because contrary to all the principles of Christianity, which they ever professed to hold dear.

At the close of the Indian war only six houses were left

standing in Swansey, and the whole neighborhood, swept again and again as it had been by fire and sword, was more desolate than when the English first landed at Plymouth. Even the wigwams of the aborigines had disappeared; their occupants had either perished by the merciless weapons of their Christian foes, or been sold into a slavery which was to them more horrible than death. The stern decree of the victors hurried to execution all the chiefs who had surrendered. Only the most insignificant of the captives were spared. Captain Church alone seemed to feel some pity toward his vanquished adversaries, but his merciful counsels were disregarded by the men who had taken no part in actual warfare, and had only looked upon the battle from afar. The ministers,* to whom was referred the question as to what disposition should be made of Philip's son, an interesting boy nine years old, decided that the sins of the father should be visited upon the child, and recommended death. The boy however, was not killed. He was taken from the cool and verdant shores of the Narragansett and shipped as a slave to the Islands of Bermuda, there to die upon the white cliffs, under the fierce rays of the semi-tropical sun.

The following is Captain Church's own account of the slaying of Philip:—

“ Captain Church, being now at Plymouth again, weary and worn, would have gone home to his wife and family, but the government being solicitous to engage him in the service until Philip was slain, and promising him satisfaction and redress for some mistreatment he had met with, he fixes for another expedition.

“ He had soon volunteers enough to make up the company he desired, and marched through the woods until he came to Pocasset. And not seeing or hearing any of the enemy, they went over the ferry to Rhode Island, to refresh themselves. The Captain, with about half a dozen in his company, took horses and rode about eight miles down the Island, to Mr. Sanford's, where he had left his wife. She no sooner saw him, but fainted with surprise, and by the time she was a little revived they spied two horsemen coming a great pace. Captain Church told his company that ‘Those men (by their riding) come with tidings.’ When they came up, they proved to be Major Sanford and Captain Golding. They immediately asked Captain Church what he would give to hear

* Samuel Arnold of Marshfield and John Cotton of Plymouth.

some news of Philip? He replied, that was what he wanted. They told him they had rode hard with some hopes of overtaking him, and were now come on purpose to inform him that there were just now tidings from Mount Hope. An Indian came down from thence (where Philip's camp now was) to Sandy Point, over against Trip's, and hallooed, and made signs to be fetched over. And being fetched over he reported, that he was fled from Philip, 'who (said he) has killed my brother just before I came away, for giving some advice that displeased him.' And said, that he was fled for fear of meeting with the same his brother had met with. Told them also, that Philip was now in Mount Hope Neck. Captain Church thanked them for their good news, and said he hoped by to-morrow morning to have the rogue's head. The horses that he and his company came on, standing at the door (for they had not been unsaddled), his wife must content herself with a short visit when such game was ahead. They immediately mounted, set spurs to their horses, and away.

"The two gentlemen that brought him the tidings told him they would gladly wait on him to see the event of the expedition. He thanked them, and told them he should be as fond of their company as any men's; and (in short) they went with him. And they were soon at Trip's ferry (with Captain Church's company), where the deserter was. He was a fellow of good sense and told his story handsomely. He offered Captain Church to pilot him to Philip and help to kill him, that he might revenge his brother's death. Told him that Philip was now upon a little spot of upland that was in the south end of the miry swamp, just at the foot of the mount, which was a spot of ground that Captain Church was well acquainted with.

"By that time they were over the ferry and come near the ground half the night was spent. The Captain commands a halt, and bringing the company together, he asked Major Sanford's and Captain Golding's advice, what method it was best to take in making the onset; but they declined giving him any advice, telling him that his great experience and success forbid their taking upon them to give advice. Then Captain Church offered Captain Golding the honor (if he would please accept of it), to beat up Philip's headquarters. He accepted the offer, and had his allotted number drawn out to him, and the pilot. Captain Church's instructions to him were, to be very careful in his approach to the enemy, and be sure not to show himself, until by daylight they might see and discern their own men from the enemy; told him also, that his custom in like cases was to creep with his company on their bellies until they came as near as they could; and that as soon as the enemy discovered them they would cry out, and that was the word for his men to fire and fall on. He directed him that when the enemy should start and take into the swamp, they should pursue with speed, every man shouting and making what noise he could; for he would give orders to his ambuscade to fire on any that should come silently.

"Captain Church, knowing that it was Philip's custom to be foremost in the flight, went down to the swamp, and gave Captain Williams of Scit-

uate, the command of the right wing of the ambush, and placed an Englishman and an Indian together behind such shelters of trees, etc., as he could find, and took care to place them at such distance, that none might pass undiscovered between them; charged them to be careful of themselves and of hurting their friends, and to fire at any that should come silently through the swamp. But it being somewhat farther through the swamp than he was aware of, he wanted men to make up his ambuscade.

"Having placed what men he had, he took Major Sanford by the hand and said, 'Sir, I have so placed them that it is scarce possible Philip should escape them.' The same moment a shot whistled over their heads, and then the noise of a gun towards Philip's camp. Captain Church at first thought it might be some gun fired by accident; but before he could speak, a whole volley followed, which was earlier than he expected. One of Philip's gang going forth, looked around him, and Captain Golding thought the Indian looked right at him (though probably it was but his conceit), so fired at him: and upon this firing, the whole company that were with him fired upon the enemy's shelter, before the Indians had time to rise from their sleep, and so overshot them. But their shelter was open on that side next the swamp, built so on purpose for the convenience of flight on occasion. They were soon in the swamp, and Philip the foremost, who starting at the first gun, threw his *petunk* and powderhorn over his head, caught up his gun, and ran as fast as he could scamper, without any more clothes than his small breeches and stockings; and ran directly on two of Captain Church's ambush. They let him come fair within shot, and the Englishman's gun missing fire, he bid the Indian fire away, and he did so to purpose; sent one musket bullet through his heart, and another not above two inches from it. He fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him.

"By this time the enemy perceived that they were waylaid on the east side of the swamp and tacked short about. One of the enemy, who seemed to be a great, surly old fellow, hallooed with a loud voice and often called out 'Iootash, Iootash.' Captain Church called to his Indian, Peter, and asked him who that was that called so? He answered that it was old Annawon, Philip's great Captain; calling on his soldiers to stand to it, and fight stoutly. Now the enemy finding that place of the swamp which was not ambushed, many of them made their escape in the English tracks.

"The man that had shot down Philip ran with all speed to Captain Church, and informed him of his exploit, who commanded him to be silent about it and let no man more know it, until they had driven the swamp clean. But when they had driven the swamp through, and found the enemy had escaped, or at least the most of them, and the sun now up and so the dew gone, that they could not easily track them, the whole company met together at the place where the enemy's night shelter was, and then Captain Church gave them the news of Philip's death. Upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas.

"Captain Church ordered his body to be pulled out of the mire to the

upland. So some of Captain Church's Indians took hold of him by his stockings and some by his small breeches (being otherwise naked), and drew him through the mud to the upland; and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like. Captain Church then said that forasmuch as he had caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied, and to rot above ground, that not one of his bones should be buried. And, calling his old Indian executioner, bid him behead and quarter him. Accordingly he came with his hatchet and stood over him, but before he struck he made a small speech, directing it to Philip, 'he had been a very great man, and had made many a man afraid of him, but so big as he was, he would now chop him in pieces.' And so he went to work and did as he was ordered.

"Philip having one very remarkable hand, being much scarred, occasioned by the splitting of a pistol in it formerly, Captain Church gave the head and that hand to Alderman,* the Indian who shot him, to show to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him; and accordingly he got many a penny by it.

"This being on the last day of the week, the Captain with his company returned to the island, tarried there until Tuesday, and then went off and ranged through all the woods to Plymouth, and received their premium, which was thirty shillings per head for the enemies which they had killed or taken, instead of all wages; and Philip's head went at the same price. Methinks it is scanty reward and poor encouragement; though it was better than it had been some time before. For this march they received *four shillings and six pence* a man, which was all the reward they had except the honor of killing Philip."

* The same Indian whose brother Philip had killed, and who had informed the English where Philip was.

CHAPTER VII.

THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP AND JOHN CROWNE.

THE fertile lands of Mount Hope having fallen into the hands of the English by right of conquest, a dispute at once arose among the neighboring colonies as to their ownership. They had, without doubt, been included in the territory originally granted to Plymouth Colony, but the prize was too tempting to be relinquished without a struggle by the modest settlers of Massachusetts Bay, and Rhode Island also brought forward a claim to a share in the spoils. The matter was at once placed before King Charles II., by the agents of the several colonies, and the question was fully discussed in the Privy Council.

To make affairs still more complicated a new claimant appeared, and pushed his cause with such energy and shrewdness, that the conquered territory had almost fallen into his hands.

John Crowne was a native of Nova Scotia, who had gone to England in order to acquire fame and independence by the powers of his mind. His reception in that country was not favorable, and he was for a time an upper servant in an old lady's family. From this position he soon extricated himself by the wit and the excellence of his literary compositions, and found means to bring himself to the notice of the queen. At the request of Rochester he wrote the "Masque of Calypso," which was performed before the Court and gained him the favor of the Merry Monarch. His works comprise seventeen

plays and several poems, his most important play being the "Comedy of Sir Courtly Nice." This play was written after the Mount Hope matter had been decided, and if successful was to secure for its author a place which would make him independent for life: but on the last day of rehearsal, and before the comedy could be acted, the king died, and all the hopes of the poet were blasted.

In 1656 William Crowne, the father of the poet, had purchased a large tract of land in Nova Scotia, which had been originally granted to Sir Wm. Alexander, Secretary of State for Scotland. By the subsequent cession of the territory to the French, the value of the purchase was almost wholly destroyed. In 1679 John Crowne presented a petition to the king in behalf of his father, stating that in consequence of the delivery of that country to the French, "the petitioner and his family have sustained almost utter ruin, and for which they have never presumed to ask any compensation. But now there happening to be in Your Majesty's disposal a small tract of land in New England, called Mount Hope, lately in possession of certain Indians destroyed in war by Your Majesty's subjects, which at present remains desolate and uninhabited, the petitioner humbly prays that Your Majesty will bestow said small tract upon him, for the support of his parents and family, although the value of the said land is in no way equivalent to the damage sustained."

This petition was, on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1679, referred by the Council to the Committee on Trade and Plantations. Randall Holden and John Greene, the agents for Rhode Island, happened to be in London at the time, and to them the committee at once applied for information concerning the tract under discussion. The agents were asked to answer three questions. "1. What is the extent of the lands of Mount Hope Bay in length and breadth? 2. What is the value of these lands at present? 3. Whether there be any claim of propriety to said lands, made by any of the neighboring corporations, or the inhabitants thereof?" To these questions Holden and Greene made answer as follows, the

reply to question three having evidently been made to suit the claim which their colony had set up : —

“1. The extent of land is not much, it being a neck of land abutting upon the sea, and lying between the colonies of Rhode Island and Plymouth, containing about four thousand acres.

2. The value we conceive to be about four thousand pounds. It is at present uninhabited.

3. We conceive the propriety of these lands to be in His Majesty, and that no corporation in New England hath any right thereunto. It did lately belong to the Sachem Philip, and was inhabited by him and his subjects, who are now wholly destroyed by the late Indian war ; and although some of the neighboring colonies would pretend a right by conquest, yet we conceive none can have a real title thereto but from His Majesty, who is the sovereign lord of all that country.”

The committee also made other inquiries, and on the sixth of February reported : “ That the neck of land called Mount Hope, in New England, may contain not above five or six thousand acres ; that we cannot acquaint your lordships with the value of said tract, as there is no common rule in New England for setting price on lands. But in general we know that whereas the soil of the country is mostly very poor and barren, this neck of land is accounted one of the best parts thereof.” The committee took occasion delicately to remind the king, “ as on behalf of the New Plymouth colony, so also of the other colonies, that there are no lands lying among them that are not clearly contained and fully conveyed in and by the charters already granted to those, His Majesty’s colonies respectively ;” they also still more effectually disposed of Crowne’s petition by expressing a belief that the land would be “ disposed of to particular persons before any notice of Mr. Crowne’s petition to Your Majesty will arrive there.”

The Council advised that letters be sent to the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and Rhode Island, asking for information concerning the lands, and also for the grounds on which their respective claims to ownership were based. In its answer the General Court of Plymouth said : —

“The lands of Mount Hope did belong to Sachem Philip, the grand rebel to Your Majesty, and first and principal disturber of the peace of these, your colonies, and are clearly and unquestionably within the Patent Grant made by your Royal predecessors to this, your most ancient Colony of New Plymouth (within which none might purchase or any way obtain lands of the natives, but ourselves, or such as the authority of this colony allowed), and these lands, with some others, were conquered by the joint forces of your subjects of the Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Plymouth, by the expense of more than one hundred thousand pounds, besides an inestimable damage sustained by particular plantations and persons, and which was yet of greater value, by the loss of the lives of many hundreds of our brethren, children, and choice friends. The profits of the war (excepting a few prisoners taken in the latter end thereof) was only land, and this colony having borne their full proportion, both in forces and charge, and being the seat of the war, suffered more in proportion than any had; Mount Hope, with a small ragged neck of land more adjoining to it for our part of profit, by agreement of the Confederate Colonies, we allowing them £1,000, because our lands were judged more valuable than theirs, and Mount Hope with its appurtenances, by far the better part of all our conquest lands, we have put to sale for £3,000, but have not yet found our chapmen. The quantity of Mount Hope we estimate to be 7,000 acres at the most; part of it good soil, and much of it rocky, mountainous and barren. But that which commends it, and causes us highly to esteem it, and earnestly to beg that by Your Majesty’s justice and favor we may enjoy and not be deprived of it, is not only because we have fought for it and paid for it, and many of us bled for it, but because this colony, for want of good harbors, could never yet make any considerable improvement of the sea; but these places are well accommodated for the settlement of a seaport town or two; whereby we hope we may, in a few years, be more serviceable to Your Majesty, and live more happily.”

The argument of the Plymouth men seemed conclusive, and

the committee recommended to the Council that the title to the lands should be fully confirmed to the Plymouth Colony, a quit rent of seven beaver skins, or in default, fourteen marks annually upon the estimated seven thousand acres being reserved to the king. This was done Dec. 4, 1679, and on the twelfth day of January, 1680, the king, by special grant, conferred the lands upon the Plymouth Colony.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRANT OF MOUNT HOPE TO PLYMOUTH COLONY.

No royal grant was made of the other lands conquered from the Indians, the colony succeeding to them by right of conquest. This special grant was made in consequence of the different claims.

" Charles R. Trusty and well beloved. We greet you well! Have with great Satisfaction read your Letter bearing Date first of July last, in return to another from us the 12th of February, 1678-9, together with Copies of other Letters from you unto us dated the 12th of June, 1677, containing a Narrative of the success which you and other of our good Subjects there have had against the Rebellious Enemy, and the total overthrow given unto that Common Enemy; and the said Papers having been particularly examined by the Lords of our Privy Council appointed our Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, and their Opinion thereupon being reported unto us, in our said Council; We have taken into our Royall Consideration how, that by your Loyalty and good Conduct in that War, you have been happy Instruments to enlarge our Dominions, and (bring) that new Teritory of Mount-hope unto a more immediate and perfect Allegiance and Dependence on us! We are therefore graciously pleased to give and grant, and do hereby give and grant unto you the full and entire Propertie of the said Tract or Scope of Land, commonly called Mount-hope, containing by . . . Seven Thousand Acres, being more or less, for the sole and proper Use and Behoofe of yourselves and the rest of our said Colony of New Plymouth; to be holden of us, our Heirs and Successors, as of our Castle of Windsor in our County of Berks. in free and common Soccage, yielding and paying therefor to us our Heirs and Successors, as a Quit Rent and Acknowledgement of this our Royall Donation, Seven Beaver Skins, to bee delivered att our said Castle of Windsor every yeare on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, or in Default thereof Fourteen Marks, to bee paid into our Royall Exchequer; the said Payment to commence from the Day of the Date of these Presents; Saving, nevertheless, all such just Right and

Title to the Premises, or any Part thereof, as any others of our good Subjects may lawfully have thereunto.

“And, Whereas Wee are given to understand that our said Colony of New Plymouth was the most antient of all the rest within that our Dominion of New England, and hapned to bee settled by so much casualty as that you have only a general Grant from the old Councill of Plymouth, and that there are wanting severall necessary Provisions for your Incorporation, which are esteemed fit for the confirming of your Peace and Happinesse, and the giving you a nearer dependence and protection from the Crown: for these Considerations therefore, and in regard of the many Instances of your Loyalty, as well ancient as what hath been by you lately exprest, We further graciously promise and declare our Royal Intentions to confer upon our said Colony of New Plymouth our Royal Charter that may containe all such Priviledges, Rights and Franchises for your good Government and Advantage, as shall by you upon due application be reasonably desired, and by us thought fitt. And so wee bid you Farewell. From our Court att Whitehall, this 12th Day of January, in the One and Thirtieth year of our Reign.

“By his Majties Command

“H. COVENTRY.”

(*Address.*) “To Our Trusty and well beloved Josiah Winslow, Esquire, Governor, and to the General Court of our Colony of New Plymouth, within our Dominion of New England, and to our Governor and Generall Court thereof for the time being.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE GRAND DEED.

THE title having thus been confirmed by royal grant, the General Court of Plymouth at once appointed a committee to sell the newly acquired territory. This committee was not long in finding purchasers. The grant was made by King Charles, on the 12th of January, 1680, in his Court at Whitehall; and on the fourteenth day of September, 1680, at Plymouth, Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley, and William Bradford, three of the committee, conveyed them by the following deed to John Walley, Nathaniel Byfield, Stephen Burton, and Nathaniel Oliver, for the sum of £1,100, current money of New England:—

“This indenture made the fourteenth day of September, Anno Domini One Thousand Six hundred and Eighty, and in the thirty second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, over England &c., Between Josiah Winslow Esq^r, Governor of his Majestie's Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Thomas Hinckley Esq^r, Deputy Governor, William Bradford Esq^r, Treasurer — all of the aforesaid Colony, on the one part; and John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield & Stephen Burton, all of Boston, in the Colony of the Massachusetts in New England aforesaid, Merchants on the other part— Witnesseth, that Whereas the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford and James Cudworth Esq^r, were nominated elected and chosen by the Honorable General Court held at Plymouth (or any two of them) as a Committee to Consider of, treat about and finally to determine all matters and things respecting, or any ways relating to the Lands sometime pertaining to the Indians, late inhabiting the Colony aforesaid by Conquest, and also to sell, alienate, enfeof and confirm the same Lands to such person or persons, and for such sum and sums of money, and with such liberties, privileges, benefits and

immunities as to them shall seem most meet, as by the order of the said Court more fully may appear.

“ Now be it known unto all men by these presents, that the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley & William Bradford, by virtue of power granted unto them as aforesaid, for and in consideration of the sum of Eleven Hundred Pounds of current money of New England to them in hand, at and before the ensealing and delivery of these presents, by the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield and Stephen Burton, well and timely paid, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge, and themselves in behalf of the said Court and their successors to be fully satisfied and contented, and thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, do in the name and in behalf of the said Colony, acquit, exonerate and discharge the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield, and Stephen Burton, their heirs, executors, administrators & assigns, and each and every one of them by these presents, have given, granted, bargained and sold, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed; and by these presents do fully, freely, clearly & absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff & confirm unto the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield & Stephen Burton, and to their heirs and assigns forever—all that tract or parcel of land, situate, lying & being within the aforesaid Colony of New Plymouth, commonly called and known by the name of *Mount Hope Neck & Popposquash Neck*, with all the Islands lying near, or about the same Necks, not exceeding five acres and not already legally disposed of. And also all and singular the Land pastures, meadows, feedings, marshes, swamps, ways, easements, Creeks, Coves, harbors, mines, stones, beaches, flats, fishings, fowlings, woods, underwoods, Trees, bushes, fences, profits, privileges, rights, commodities, hereditaments, emoluments & appurtenances whatsoever, growing, standing, lying, being, arising or issuing forth, in, upon, or out of the premises or any part or parcel thereof—or to the same, or any part or parcel thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining (Excepting only and reserving the Lands formerly granted to the Inhabitants of Swansey, according to the Lines already run at the north end or entrance of said Neck, and also the One hundred acres of Land now belonging unto the Family of the Gorham's, and the Meadows formerly purchased of the Indians, and his Majesty's part of Royal mines—together with all deeds, writings, Court orders, evidences, grants and Miniments whatsoever, touching or concerning the premises or any part or parcel thereof.

“ And the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley, and William Bradford, for themselves in the name and behalf of the said Court and Freemen of the said Colony and their successors do hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield and Stephen Burton and their heirs & assigns forever, in manner and form following (that is to say) that they the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley and William Bradford, or some or one of them, shall and will within the time & space of twelve months, next after the date hereof, cause good and sufficient highways to be laid

out from all the adjacent towns unto the said Mount Hope Neck, within the said Colony for the country's use. And further, that the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield, and Stephen Burton, and all such other person or persons as shall inhabit the said Neck or Necks of land, shall be free and clear from all ordinary and common country rates from or by the said Colony, from the first day of April next ensuing the day of the date hereof, unto the full end and term of seven years from thence next ensuing, and fully to be complete and ended. And also that all the inhabitants of the said Mount Hope Neck shall, from time to time and at all times forever hereafter be free and clear from all customs, payments, excise and impositions whatsoever from or by the said Colony, and authority by them there established; for, upon or by reason of any goods, wares or merchandise whatsoever, that shall be imported or exported to or from the said Necks, or any part thereof, or for entering or clearing any ship or ships or other vessel or vessels whatsoever, for coming into, lying in or going out of the Harbor or Harbors belonging to the said Neck, or to or from any person or persons inhabiting the said Neck.

“ And further—that the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield and Stephen Burton and their heirs and assigns forever, shall have, possess and enjoy the whole and sole benefit, privilege and advantage of each and every ye Ferries that shall be and be made within the precincts of the said Necks for the passing and repassing to and from the said Necks with whatever other benefits they shall make of the aforementioned premises or any part or parcel thereof. And that the Inhabitants of the said Necks shall have liberty, and hereby have full and free liberty from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to send Deputies to the General Court of the said Colony according to the number of Freemen, who shall have free liberties to act there as the Deputies of other Towns in the said Colony. And also that the Inhabitants of the said Necks shall have, and hereby have liberty annually to choose from amongst themselves, Commissioners who shall be fully empowered to keep a Commissioner's Court on the said Neck, for the Trial and determination of all actions and causes under ten pounds, which shall be brought unto the said Court (always allowing liberty of appeals unto the Court of New Plymouth aforesaid). And further, that when there shall be settled upon the Neck of Mount Hope the full number of Sixty Families that then that part of the Colony shall be a County, and there shall be liberty granted unto them to keep a County Court on the said Neck, and all Actions arising within the same to be tried there. And that the Town that shall be built on the said Neck shall be the County or Shire town. And all meadows lying adjoining to the said Neck shall belong to that township, saving the propriety thereof to the respective owners of the same. And also that no man's private interest of little or small value shall hinder the public good of the Plantation that shall be settled upon the said Neck, particularly for the setting up of Mills, or making of Mill ponds, or other public concerns whatsoever, as the Court shall think fit, the aforesaid purchasers of

the said Neck, giving such satisfaction to the owners of said Land that shall be improved for the public benefit, as shall be agreed upon by the parties concerned, or as the General Court for New Plymouth aforesaid shall judge meet and reasonable. And also all the estate, right, title and interest, use, possession, claim, property and demands whatsoever of them the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford and James Cudworth as a committee chosen by the said Court as aforesaid, or of the said Colony, or any that are or shall be in authority here, in or to the said lands, liberties, privileges and immunities, or any other the above mentioned premises, or any part or parcel thereof (excepting only as before excepted) To have and to hold the said Tract or parcel of land commonly called and known by the name of Mount Hope Neck and Poppasquash Neck, (reserving only as before reserved) with all the Islands lying near or about the said Necks, not exceeding five acres, and not already disposed of, with all and singular the Lands, pastures, meadows, feedings, marshes, swamps, ways, easements, creeks, coves, harbors, mines, stones, beaches, flats, fishings, fowlings, woods, underwoods, trees, bushes, fences, profits, priviledges, rights, commodities, hereditaments, emoluments and appurtenances whatsoever, growing, standing, lying, being, arising or issuing forth in, upon or out of the premises or any part or parcel thereof, or to the same or any part or parcel thereof belonging or in anywise appertaining hereby granted, bargained & sold, or meant, mentioned or intended to be herein or hereby granted, bargained & sold, with their and each and every of their rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever unto the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield & Stephen Burton, and their heirs and assigns forever, in as full, large, ample and beneficial manner and form whatsoever, as the said Colony hath, may or might have and enjoy the same. And to the only, sole and proper use, benefit and behoofs of the said John Walley, Nath^l Oliver, Nath^l Byfield & Stephen Burton and their heirs and assigns forever. And the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley & William Bradford, in the name and behalf of the said General Court and their successors & Inhabitants of said Colony do hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with the said John Walley, Nath^l Oliver, Nath^l Byfield & Stephen Burton, their heirs and assigns in manner and form following (that is to say, that they the said John Walley, Nath^l Oliver, Nath^l Byfield & Stephen Burton and their heirs and assigns forever, shall and may by force and virtue of these presents, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, lawfully, peaceably and quietly have, hold, use, occupy, possess and enjoy the above granted premises, with their appurtenances and every part and parcel thereof, with all the liberties, priviledges, and immunities aforementioned, Free and clear and clearly acquitted & discharged of and from all, and all manner of former and other gifts, grants, bargains and sales, leases, mortgages, jointures, judgments, executions, entailles, forfeitures, and of and from all other titles, troubles, charges, and incumbrances whatsoever had made, committed, done, or (had made committed) or to be done by them, the said Josiah

Winslow, Thomas Hinckley, and William Bradford, or either of them, or by any other person or persons by authority granted by the said Court of New Plymouth, at any time, or times, before the ensembling hereof (excepting only as before excepted)

“And Further, that the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley and William Bradford, in the name and behalf of the said General Court do further covenant, that they shall and will from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter Warrant and defend the above granted premises and each and every part and parcel thereof with the liberties, privileges, rights, immunities and appurtenances above mentioned, in Manner and form aforesaid, unto the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield and Stephen Burton, and to their heirs and assigns forever against all and every person and persons whatsoever anyways lawfully claiming or demanding the same or any part thereof.

And Lastly, that they, the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley and William Bradford, shall and will cause this present Deed of Sale and grant of the several liberties, privileges and immunities above mentioned to be ratified and confirmed by the next General Court to be holden at Plymouth aforesaid; and do and perform all such further and lawful Act and Acts, thing and things whatsoever for the better confirmation, and Sure making of the premises unto the said John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield and Stephen Burton, their heirs or assigns. In Witness whereof, the said Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley and William Bradford have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written

JOSIAH WINSLOW
(and a seal)

THOMAS HINCKLEY
(and a seal)

WILLIAM BRADFORD
(and a seal)

“Signed, Sealed and delivered by the within named Josiah Winslow and Thomas Hinckley, on the day of the date within written in the presence of us

JOHN HAYWARD Ser^t
ELIEZER MOODY Ser^t
ANTHONY EAMES

“Signed, Sealed and delivered by the within named William Bradford on the 29th of September 1680 in the presence of us

JOHN FREEMAN
JAMES B.

“The within named Josiah Winslow, Thomas Hinckley and William Bradford came before us y^e 29th day of September 1680 and did acknowledge they had passed this deed in the behalf of the Colony of New Plymouth, as their Committee thereunto instructed

JOHN ALDEN }
JAMES CUDWORTH } *Assistants.”*



NATHANIEL BYFIELD.

CHAPTER X.

NATHANIEL BYFIELD.

OF the four Boston merchants into whose possession the fair patrimony of the dead Philip had come, Nathaniel Byfield was by far the most able and the most distinguished. His family was one of note and influence in England. Rev. Richard Byfield, his father, was for a long time the pastor of Long Ditton, in Surrey, England, and was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. His mother was sister of that Juxon who was Bishop of London, High Treasurer of England under Charles I., and who, a personal friend as well as priestly adviser, attended that unhappy king at the scaffold on the morning of his execution.

Nathaniel Byfield was the youngest of twenty-one children, and was born in 1653. In 1674 he landed at Boston, and, liking the country, immediately resolved to settle in America. In 1675 he married Deborah Clarke,* and commenced business as a merchant in Boston.

In his business career he was at once and always successful, and by the close of King Philip's War had accumulated

* In the Plymouth Colony Records, the following petition, bearing date of Sept. 25, 1676, appears: "The Petition of Nathaniel Byfield humbly sheweth that your Petitioner is a stranger in the Country and lately married, and is now pressed to goe out to warre against the Indians. And whereas the Law of God is plain, 24 Deuteronomy 5. that where a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not goe to warre, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at home one yeare, your Petitioner doth humbly request the favour of your honours to grant him the privilege and benefit of the said Law, and to grant him a discharge from the present service.

So shall he pray for your honours

NATHANIEL BYFIELD."

much property. His surplus wealth he invested in the purchase of Mount Hope. When the town of Bristol was founded he became one of its settlers, and established his residence on the peninsula of Poppasquash,* most of which he owned. His dwelling-house stood near the spot where the residence of Deacon William Manchester now stands. Not far from this place may still be seen the remains of a tomb wherein lie buried those of his family who died during his residence in Bristol. He also owned another and better house on Byfield Street, of which an account will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Mr. Byfield's wife, Deborah, died in 1717. To them were born five children: three of these died in youth: one daughter became the wife of Lieutenant-Governor Taylor, of Massachusetts, and died without issue: another was married to Edward Lyde, Esq., and her descendants to-day hold honorable positions in New England. In 1718 he married Sarah Leverett, the youngest daughter of Governor Leverett, whom he also outlived. Mrs. Sarah Byfield died in Boston, Dec. 21, 1730, leaving no children; she was buried in the "Granary Burial Ground," near Park Street Church, where her husband's remains were afterwards placed by her side.

Nathaniel Byfield was for forty-four years a citizen of Bristol, and ever exercised a commanding influence in its affairs. In the Colony of Plymouth he also took a leading part, and when it was divided into counties he was made chief judge of the court established in the new county, his associates being Benjamin Church and John Brown of Swansey. He was five times a delegate from Bristol to the General Court during his residence in the Mount Hope Lands, and was three times afterward a delegate to the General Court from Boston. Several times he was elected speaker of that honorable body. "For 38 years he was Chief Justice in the Court of General

* This name, Poppasquash, like all Indian names, has been spelled in many ways. In various books and deeds we find Poppasquash, Pappasquash, Pappoose-squaw, Pappasqua, and Poppy-squash. The weight of authority seems to be in favor of the first form. Respecting its derivation no satisfactory information can be given.

Sessions of the Peace and Common Pleas for the County of Bristol." * For two years afterwards he also held the same office in the County of Suffolk. He received five commissions as Judge of Admiralty, from three different sovereigns : from King William in 1697, Queen Anne in 1702-3 and 1709, and from George II. in 1728. During his long term of service none of his decisions were reversed by a superior court. At the same time he held the three offices of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Bristol County, Judge of Probate for Bristol County, and Judge of Admiralty for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. For many years, also, he was one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay. In 1689 Mr. Byfield wrote an account of the proceedings against Sir Edmund Andros and the Revolution in New England, which was published in England that same year. The union of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay involved him in political controversies in which he became greatly distinguished and made himself one of the most conspicuous characters in the new province.

Mr. Byfield was tall and of imposing presence ; his very looks inspired confidence and respect : he possessed a fine voice, and was a ready, easy speaker. Like all public men, his motives were grossly misrepresented, and for his career outside the limits of his adopted town, we have to rely mainly upon the records left by his political enemies. Mr. Francis Baylies, in his *History of Plymouth*, concedes his great abilities, and gives the following notice of his career, evidently much biased by personal prejudice : —

"As Colonel Byfield may be considered the principal founder of Bristol, some further particulars of his life and character may not be unappropriate to this work, although not particularly connected with the exclusive history of Plymouth.

"The character of the early population of Massachusetts exhibited strong and peculiar traits : even their virtues were

* Lane's Manual of First Church in Bristol.

carried to such extremes that they seemed to have had some alliance to resembling vices ; sometimes their courage degenerated into rashness, their firmness into obstinacy, their patriotism into factiousness, and their hatred of heresy and false religion into cruel and atrocious bigotry. In the course of nearly a century and a half, the history of Massachusetts presents two remarkable epochs, during which the character of the people was unchanged, but the objects of excitement were very different.

“ From the settlement of the colony, in 1630, to the issuing of the *quo warranto*, in the latter part of the reign of Charles II., their burning spirits flamed out in polemical and religious controversies of the most violent and vindictive character, terminating generally in the banishment of the defeated party, and exercising its savage bigotry upon offending individuals. This spirit became extinct when the civil rights were in danger, but from its ashes came forth another consuming fire, which was only extinguished by the blood of those convicted of witchcraft. The last ebullition of popular rage was only an interruption to the progress of political contentions, and the struggle for political rights, which, commencing with the loss of the charter, gave a new aspect to controversy, and wrought new channels for the passions ; and, although after this period much apprehension was expressed that the Congregational *religion* might be subjected to restraints and impositions, yet the real fear was that the Congregational *party* might lose its political influence.

“ In this memorable controversy, two distinguished persons, both bearing the name of Elisha Cooke, father and son, wielded the fierce democracy of the province for half a century ; the first dared to dictate to royalty, and to say in the presence, ‘ the old charter or none.’ Never was a contest conducted with more persevering resolution, or with a more fearless and determined spirit. In the House of Representatives, the unceasing dispute with the royal governors was conducted by the Cookes ; in their school those doctrines were taught, those habits of fearless investigation touching

the supremacy of Parliament and the royal prerogative were acquired, and those principles digested and established which eventually produced an event which was scarcely contemplated: this controversy for free principles endured for nearly a century, and its crisis was the Revolution.

“It was the fortune of Colonel Byfield to have been accidentally thrown into the struggle as the coadjutor of the Cookes, and as a champion of the democratic party, and to have wrought and suffered in a cause for which, perhaps, he felt but little attachment. But secondary men are always fashioned by circumstances, and follow in the paths which bolder spirits have opened. The Cookes contended for principles, Byfield for office; the Cookes for popular rights, Byfield for revenge; and yet they contended on the same side and suffered alike. Such is the composition of parties; the loftiest motives are mingled with the basest; the most disinterested patriotism with the most sordid selfishness!

“Colonel Byfield, much to his honor, resisted the insane fanaticism of the people during their delusion on the subject of witchcraft, and condemned the conduct of the Court with much severity.

“In November, 1693, then being a representative in the General Court from Bristol, he was elected Speaker of the House, and so was the second speaker under the provincial charter. In 1696, 1697, and 1698, he was elected a representative from Boston. In 1698 he was again elected speaker, and he was often a counselor. Being a person of great enterprise and inordinate ambition, he commenced a course of political intrigue and opposition, to bring about his great end, which was to obtain the office of Governor of the Province.

“He was no friend to Sir William Phipps, and was very much disliked by Increase Mather, who exercised a powerful influence over the legislative bodies.

“In 1702, by the appointment of Governor Dudley, he succeeded Mr. Saffin in the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Bristol, which he retained until 1710.

“ In 1703 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty, from which he was displaced in 1715. Having been harshly and injuriously reprov'd for some judicial proceedings, in open council, by Governor Dudley,* he conceived for him such an implacable dislike, that he determined to make a powerful effort to supplant him; for this purpose he went to England in 1714. Dudley's influence had evidently declined, and he was tottering in his place.

“ The celebrated Jeremiah Dummer, the agent of Massachusetts, was then in London. In a letter to Dr. Coleman he gives a lively account of Col. Byfield's conduct there:—

“ The second time (says he) that gentleman (Col. Byfield) and I met was at my chambers, where we soon came to a full understanding with each other with respect to the present governor. I told him that both my duty and my inclination led me to stand by his commission, with what friends and what interest I could make; and he replied that he would by the help of God get him turned out, and therein please God and all good men. Accordingly we have both been pretty diligent, but I think he is now a little out of breath. His age makes him impatient of the fatigues of application, and his frugality makes him sick of coach-hire, fees to officers and door-keepers, and other expenses; so that I believe he now heartily wishes himself safe in his own government at Poppy-Squash. He is really an honest, worthy man, but he is so excessively hot against Colonel Dudley, that he cannot use any body civilly that is for him. In a conversation I had with him before Mr. Newman, he used me very unhandsomely. The argument was whether the General Assembly was for or against the governor. He said the latter, because they would not address for him; to which I answered, my intelligence was, that Dr. Noyes opposed it upon the fact of its being a bad precedent which future governors might claim the advantage of, when they did not deserve it, and that thereupon the House rejected it.

* His quarrel with Governor Dudley was about Nathaniel Blagrove's administration of the estate of Nathan Hayman, one of the proprietors of Bristol.

To this the Colonel in great indignation said, 'Well, Sir! then you say the whole House of Representatives are turned about by one man? Take notice, Sir, that I shall go back again to New England.' Upon this, I told him his inference was so disengenuous, and the menace he added was so little like a gentleman, that I would never talk with him any more on that subject, which I have strictly kept to, though we have frequently met since.'

"In another letter of Dummer's, to Mr. Flint, dated in 1715, he says:—

"'What Colonel Byfield says of me, as well as of Sir William Ashhurst, is false; and I can assure you, I found him out in a good many lies* while he was here, notwithstanding he is ever nauseously boasting of his honesty. As for his honor's negating me, he may do what he pleases, but I would have him consider that public places are held by a very slight and uncertain tenure, and that it is ill policy in him to make any body his enemy.'

"Byfield's interest was not sufficient to obtain the government, and it was bestowed on Colonel Shute, the brother of Lord Barrington; he returned to New England, and being chosen a counselor in 1720, 1721, and 1722, was regularly negated by Governor Shute, whose administration was disturbed by a more violent party contention than was ever known in Massachusetts. Shute left the government in 1723, and Byfield was again negated as a counselor by Lieut.-Governor Dummer. After that, he was chosen regularly, and served until 1729, when he was left out by the House, but being in favor with Governor Burnett, he was again appointed Judge of Admiralty, and on the accession of Governor Belcher, who was his relation, he was appointed a judge of the County of Suffolk, to the exclusion of Colonel Dudley, the son of his old enemy."

Of Mr. Byfield's course in Bristol, we have our own records

* Respecting this matter Mr. Baylies further says, in another place: "The gross accusations of Jeremy Dummer, that he was regardless of truth, ought to be taken with much allowance: Dummer was his enemy, and had learned his morals in the school of Lord Bolingbroke, whose tool for a time he was proud to be."

to testify, and in them he always appears as an upright, public-spirited citizen, generous in his gifts to the town, an efficient friend and supporter of religion and education, as his frequent and liberal donations of land and money to advance the interests of both, bear witness. To him the town is chiefly indebted for the "school lands," whose rental has contributed so much to the education of its children. Undoubtedly he was somewhat overbearing and dictatorial in his manner,—the commanding position which he held would serve to make him so: he was also exceedingly fond of having his own way,—as who of us is not?—and yet rarely do we see a public man whose influence was so uniformly exerted on the side of truth and justice. Fierce personal enemies he often made, and yet his most bitter enemies were forced oftentimes to admit his integrity of purpose, and his uprightness of spirit, and when, as in the case of his quarrel with Judge Saffin, the decision of personal controversies was referred to unprejudiced arbitrators, judgment was almost always rendered in his favor. That the town of Bristol was laid out on such an admirable plan, with such broad and regular streets, and with the large Common in its centre, we are indebted chiefly to him.

From the superstitious religious prejudices which warped the judgment of so many of his contemporaries, he was singularly free, and he had the courage to condemn, in the most unqualified terms, the bloody proceedings of the Salem Witchcraft delusion. When, in 1724, his advanced age forced him to seek the greater comforts which Boston afforded, he by no means relinquished his interest in Bristol, but continued his liberal contributions to advance its welfare. He died in Boston on the 6th of June, 1733, *mourned and lamented throughout all the provinces*. His will, dated December 6, 1732, shows that he possessed great wealth for those old colonial days; it speaks of a mansion-house, stable and various out-buildings in Boston: a rope-walk, warehouse, wharf and flats; other tenement houses and stores; lands covering much of Fort Hill, and various lots from Beacon street, west and north, to Cambridge street; valuable property in several other Massachusetts

towns, and several thousand acres of land in Maine and Vermont. His property was very equitably divided among his heirs, the bulk of his estate being left to his grandson, Byfield Lyde, the son-in-law of Governor Belcher. To show his catholic spirit he left a bequest of money to "all and every minister of Christ, in every denomination in Boston." His servants were also remembered with affection and counsel.

His remains were buried, as has been before said, in the Granary Burial Ground ; his tombstone has long since disappeared ; it was inscribed with the Byfield coat of arms, and the name Lyde was cut upon the shield. It also bore this epitaph from the pen of the Rev. Mather Byles : —

“ Byfield beneath in peaceful slumber lies ;
Byfield the good, the active and the wise ;
His manly frame contained an equal mind ;
Faithful to God, and generous to mankind ;
High in his Country's Honors long he stood,
Succored distress and gave the hungry food ;
In justice steady, in devotion warm,
A loyal subject, and a Patriot, firm ;
Through every age his dauntless soul was tried ;
Great while he lived, but greater when he died.”

* In this will he sets free his negro slave, Rose, “ brought to Bristol from the West Indies early in the spring of 1718, in a very weak and hazardous condition, judged then to be about thirteen years old.” A copy of this will was kindly loaned to the author by the Hon. Francis Brinley, of Newport, one of Mr. Byfield's lineal descendants.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OTHER PROPRIETORS.

1. JOHN WALLEY. The name of John Walley stands first on the Grand Deed, though he was manifestly second to Byfield in influence and importance. He was born in the year 1644, probably in the city of London, as his father, the Rev. Thomas Walley, was rector of St. Mary's, White Chapel, about that time. We do not know in what year Mr. Walley came to this country, but it is recorded that his father followed him to Boston, arriving at that town on the "Society," from London, May 24, 1663.

John Walley was well known and greatly respected throughout New England. He was a man of uncommon sweetness and candor of spirit, and even in that age of fierce and unreasoning passion, seems to have made no personal enemies. Except when he was dragged as an unwilling participant into disputes, like that with Judge Saffin, by the imperious spirit of his partners in business ventures, his name rarely appears in law-suits or personal controversies. All men recognized his sterling worth, and gladly testified to his large administrative ability. His gentle and retiring disposition never allowed him to put himself forward as a candidate for office, and yet office after office was continually thrust upon him. His fellow-citizens knew that however unwelcome might be the task which was assigned to him, he would yet discharge it with singular ability and uprightness. His name often appears on the pages of Massachusetts history, and

even political opponents, recognizing his impartial spirit, frequently called him to share in their deliberations for the welfare of the state.

For many years he was a member of the Council and Judge of the Superior Court. In 1690 he commanded the land forces of Sir William Phipps in the expedition against Canada. This expedition was unsuccessful, yet Walley won high commendation for his heroism and generalship. He wrote a journal of this expedition, which is preserved in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. His residence in Bristol is still standing,* though much changed from its ancient form. As a merchant he acquired a comfortable fortune, the income of which he delighted to expend upon objects of benevolence and for the support of religion. In his old age a painful disease forced him to seek a more comfortable home in Boston, where he died on the 11th of January, 1712.†

The Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, in a discourse which is unusually free from the fulsome praise which disfigures so many of the funeral sermons of that age, recalls with loving appreciation his many virtues, speaks of the "singular honor which God did him in making him One of the Principal Instruments in Planting a Flourishing Town and Church in a Place surrounded with gross Error and Ignorance," and tells of the sorrow with which men, in towns far remote from Boston, heard the tidings of his death.

2. STEPHEN BURTON. Of Stephen Burton we know but little. He was the most scholarly man of the four proprietors, and is said to have been educated at Oxford. He took comparatively little part in the founding of the town, not being able to endure much work because of a disorder in the head. "He was the first recording officer of the county, and in his office of Clerk of the Peace exercised the functions which are now performed by the Register of Probate, Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, and Register of Deeds." His hand-writing

* On the north side of State Street, near Thames Street, somewhat back.

† Mr. Walley was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston.

was very beautiful. Five times (in 1685, 1686, 1689, 1690, 1692), he represented the town as its deputy to the General Court, and seems to have been highly esteemed by its citizens. He died in Bristol on the twenty-second day of July, 1693.* His house stood on Burton Street, and was burnt by the British troops in 1778.

NATHANIEL OLIVER was a rich merchant of Boston. He never settled in Bristol, but sold his share in the Mount Hope Lands to Capt. Nathan Hayman. He seems always to have retained his interest in the town, and in 1684 presented a bell for the use of the church which had lately been established. He signed the Grand Articles, but by a vote of the town was allowed to withdraw from the contract upon payment of thirty-five pounds instead of one hundred as there specified.

3. NATHAN HAYMAN. The name of Nathan Hayman appears in the records of the first town-meeting as one of the four proprietors. He was a merchant and mariner of Boston, a man of much enterprise and shrewdness. He died a few years after the founding of the town, and was buried in the cemetery east of the Common. By his own order he was buried *six feet east of the front wall*, and this direction of his has since been made use of by the surveyors to verify the line of the street. His death occurred July 27, 1689. Mr. Hayman left two sons, Nathan and John. One daughter became the wife of the Rev. William Brattle, of Cambridge, and one was married to Thomas Church. His widow afterwards married Nathaniel Blagrove, and at her death, by the direction of her second husband, Mr. Hayman's grave was opened and her remains were interred with those of the husband of her youth. Next to them Judge Blagrove directed that his own body should be placed at his death, and in the old burying-ground the two tombs may still be seen.

* Record of Deaths of Town of Bristol.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST INHABITANTS.

IN 1669 the General Court of Plymouth Colony granted one hundred acres of land within the present limits of Bristol, to John Gorham, if it could be honorably purchased of the Indians. The necessary arrangements seem to have been perfected without difficulty, for on the first day of July, 1672, Constant Southworth, James Brown and John Gorham were appointed by the Court "to purchase a certain parcell of land of the Indians, granted by the Court to said Gorham." July 13, 1677, the Court ratified and confirmed this one hundred acres to Gorham and his heirs forever. (This land was north of the "Neck Burying-Ground," on the west side of the main road, and remained in the possession of the Gorham family for several generations. It is now [1880] owned by Lewis Carr and George Smith.)

John Gorham must therefore be regarded as the first white settler in Bristol, though it is not likely that he erected a very substantial dwelling, and his home was broken up at the beginning of the war. His descendants are yet living among us.

The deed which the four proprietors had obtained from Plymouth conferred special privileges upon the new town. It was allowed at once to send deputies to the General Court; it was exempted from taxation for the space of seven years; a Commissioners' Court was established to try ordinary cases (under the value of £10), with the right of appeal to the

Plymouth Court, and it was also agreed that when sixty families should have settled in the town a new county should be established with it as the county seat.

The proprietors set themselves energetically to work to procure desirable settlers. The task was by no means difficult. The many advantages of the Mount Hope Lands had long been known throughout New England, and the special opportunities for commerce which the fine harbor would afford were evident to all. The man who had done the most to secure to the English the possession of these fertile fields was wisely secured as the proprietor of a (16th) sixteenth part of the town, and the fame of Benjamin Church did much to draw others of the substantial men of Plymouth and Massachusetts to the new settlement.

The deed was granted Sept. 14, 1680, and on the 29th of September the General Court of New Plymouth ratified and confirmed it. William Ingraham of Swansey, cooper, acting as their attorney, having given possession of the land "by turf and twig,"* to the four proprietors on the twenty-second day of September, 1680.

In less than a year from this time the requisite number of families had settled in the Mount Hope Lands, and on the 1st of September, 1681, the people met together and decided that the name of the new town should be Bristol. This name was not given because any large proportion of the inhabitants had come originally from Bristol, England; it is possible that not one of the number had been born in that town; but Bristol was then the most important seaport in Great Britain, and was specially prominent in the trade with the West Indies and the American Colonies. The people of this new settlement saw the unusual facilities for commerce which their beautiful harbor offered, and in pleasant anticipation of its future maritime importance decided to give it the name of the great English port.

* This ceremony was very simple. Ingraham took his stand upon the land, in company with Wailey and his associates; breaking a twig from the nearest bush, and plucking a bit of turf from the ground beneath their feet, he handed both to Mr. Walley, and the possession of the land was transferred.

The following persons were, at that first town-meeting, admitted as citizens by John Walley, Nathaniel Byfield, Stephen Burton and Nathan Hayman (the four proprietors) : —

Capt. Benjamin Church,	Joseph Ford,	John Pope.
Doctor Isaac Waldron,	John Cary,	John Martin,
Nathaniel Williams,	Edmund Ranger,	David Cary,
Nathaniel Reynolds,	Benjamin Ingell,	Increase Robinson,
Benjamin Bosworth,	James Burrows,	William Hedge,
Edward Bosworth,	Uzal Wardwell,	Daniel Landon,
Samuel Penfield,	Eliashih Adams,	Widdo (Elizabeth) South-
George Morye,	Zachariah Curtis,	ard,
John Wilkins,	John Gladding,	Anthony Fry,
William Ingraham,	Joseph Jacob,	John Smith,
Nathaniel Paine,	Robert Taft,	William Hoar,
Nathan Hayman,	Peter Pampelion,	Robert Dutch,
Christopher Saunders,	Samuel Woodbury,	James Burrill,
Timothy Clarke,	Samuel Gallop,	Nathaniel Bosworth,
John Saffin,	Henry Hampton,	Benjamin Jones,
Solomon Curtis,	John Thurston,	Richard Hammond,
John Finney,	Jonathan Finney,	William Brenton,
Jabez Gorham,	Nicholas Mead,	Watching Atherton.
Hugh Woodbury,	Jeremiah Osborne,	John Wilson,
John Rogers,	John Bayley,	William Throop,
Jabez Howland,	Joseph Sandy,	Major Robert Thompson,
Jonathan Davenport,	Jeremiah Finney,	Thomas Bletsoe,
Richard Smith,	George Waldron,	Samuel Cobbett,
Joseph Baster,	Thomas Walker,	John Birge,
William Brown,	Thomas Daggett,	Richard White.
John Corps,	Thomas Lewis,	

CHAPTER XIII.

BENJAMIN CHURCH.

BENJAMIN CHURCH was born at Duxbury, near Plymouth, in the year 1639. He was the son of Richard Church, who came to Massachusetts in the fleet with Governor Winthrop; the father was a carpenter by trade, and his son was bred to the same employment. On the 26th of December, 1667, Benjamin Church married Alice Southworth, the grand-daughter of the wife of Governor Bradford. For a few years after his marriage he continued to live in Duxbury, occasionally sojourning in other towns of the colony, working at his trade when the opportunity was offered, and contriving to accumulate considerable money. In 1674 he was induced by Capt. John Almy, of Rhode Island, to visit Sogkonate (Seaconnet, now Little Compton), was pleased with the region, purchased a farm near the "East Passage," and erected two buildings upon it. This was before the commencement of Philip's War, and he was the first Englishman who had settled in that territory.

"The next spring advancing, while Mr. Church was diligently settling his farm, stocking, leasing and disposing of his affairs, and had a fine prospect of doing no small things; and hoping that his good success would be inviting unto other good men to become his neighbors; Behold! The rumor of a war between the English and the natives gave check to his projects."* The farm at Seaconnet was given up, and not until many years had elapsed did he go back to live upon it.

* Church's History.



PLATE II. 11



Mr. Church was tall and well proportioned, and his frame was well knit, built for activity and endurance. As a young man he was exceedingly active and vigorous, characteristics which strongly commended him to his Indian neighbors. In his residence of a year among the Indians, he had gained a thorough knowledge of their character, and had acquired great influence among them.

“His peculiar temperament, his activity, his constant cheerfulness and constitutional vivacity, as well as his determined courage, gave him a decided and commanding influence over this rude race; and of all the English who bore commands during the great war, none was so much feared, so much respected, and finally so much beloved by them as this terrible and triumphant enemy.”

Captain Church possessed, in a remarkable degree, that ardent thirst for glory, and that burning religious enthusiasm, which in all ages has impelled men to deeds of the most wondrous daring, and of the loftiest heroism. In the preface to his autobiography, written when he was very near his end, the old hero, with quaint and touching simplicity, discloses to the reader the motives which had actuated his whole life: “While I was thus busily employed,” (in building up his plantation at Seaconnet,) “and all my time and strength laid out in this laborious undertaking, I received a commission from the government to engage in their defence; And through the grace of God I was spirited for that work, and direction in it was renewed me from day to day. And although many of the actions that I was concerned in were very difficult and dangerous, yet myself, and those who went with me voluntarily in the service, had our lives, for the most part, wonderfully preserved by the overruling hand of the Almighty from first to last; which doth aloud bespeak our praises; And to declare His wonderful works is our indispensable duty. I was ever sensible of my own littleness, and unfitness to be employed in such great services. But calling to mind that God is strong, I endeavored to put all my confidence in Him, and by His Almighty power was

carried through every difficult action ; and my desire is that His name may have the praise.

“It was ever my intent, having laid myself under a solemn promise, that the many and repeated favors of God to myself and those with me in the service might be published for generations to come. And now my great age requiring my dismissal from service in the militia, and to put off my armor, I am willing that the great and glorious works of Almighty God to us, children of men, should appear to the world ; and having my minutes by me, my son has taken the care and pains to collect from them the ensuing narrative of many passages relating to the former and latter wars ; which I have had the perusal of, and find nothing amiss, as to the truth of it, and with as little reflection upon any particular person as might be, either alive or dead. And, seeing every particle of historical truth is precious, I hope the reader will pass a favorable censure upon an old soldier, telling of the many rencounters he has had, and yet is come off alive.”

In times of peace, the blunt honesty, the hatred of all sham and pretence, and the unsparing vigor with which he denounced whatever seemed to him mean or low, often rendered Church unpopular among his neighbors ; but in times of the gloomiest and most wretched despondency, men called for the service of his clear brain and strong right arm, just as Rome, in her days of darkest despair, looked up to Cains Marius to save the state. It was in fighting and in managing Indians that he was most successful, and his equal in this respect this country has never seen. “The capture of Annawon, for audacious and calculating intrepidity, is unmatched in the history of partizan warfare, and exhibits a sagacity which could estimate and measure the force of moral power when operating on physical force with unerring precision, and could truly judge how far the prospect of success could justify the undertaking of an enterprise of apparent desperation with most inadequate means, and finishing a mighty war, after a triumphant train of fights, like a Knight

of Romance, by the solitary and unaided efforts of one wonder-working arm." *

At the beginning of the war Church removed his family to Rhode Island for greater safety, while he hastened to devote his own powers to the service of the colony; but the wise counsels of the man who had studied so carefully the peculiarities of the Indian character were disregarded, and those were entrusted with the conduct of the war whose knowledge, both of the Indians and of military affairs, was of the most rudimentary kind. A long series of disasters at last forced his unwilling opponents to give him the command which his genius merited, and from that moment Fortune seemed to smile upon the English.

It was in the fullness of his fame — when his praises were on the lips of every man — that the gallant leader came to dwell in the lands which had belonged to his dead foe: a lasting peace seemed to have been secured to the colonists by his achievements, and in the heritage of Philip it seemed fitting that Philip's conqueror should have his home. He built a house on the north side of Constitution Street, near the corner of Thames Street, which many readers of this book will remember; the old chimney, a most picturesque ruin, covered with creeping vines, was torn down to make a place for a modern dwelling-house only a few years ago.

Captain Church was elected to many offices by the people of Bristol; of all these he discharged the duties with the honesty of purpose and hearty zeal which characterized his every action. He went to Plymouth as the first deputy to represent the town at the General Court in 1682, and was also its deputy in the two succeeding years. When the colonies were again involved in hostilities, in what is known as King William's War, he was, in September, 1689, appointed Major and Commander-in-Chief of an expedition "to the Eastward." This expedition he conducted for a while with his usual success, but he was not properly supported by the colonial governments. The attention of the people of

* Baylies' History of Plymouth.

Massachusetts was too completely taken up with the affairs of Sir Edmond Andros to allow them to bestow much thought upon their friends in the remote villages of Maine. A council was held and it was deemed best for Church to return to Massachusetts that he might in person represent to its authorities the defenceless condition of their suffering kinsmen. His representations were disregarded; no aid was sent, and the French and Indians, under command of Baron Castine, massacred nearly all the inhabitants of Casco Bay. For his services on this expedition the Government of Plymouth voted to Church the paltry sum of £42, while Massachusetts coolly refused him any compensation whatever.

The mode of Indian warfare in the thinly settled districts of Maine was different from that which the Red men adopted in the more populous regions of Massachusetts. Major Church foretold the failure of the expedition under the leadership of Sir William Phipps, in which his townsman, Walley, had embarked in 1690, and its issue justified his prediction. At last, when other commanders had been repeatedly defeated, he was entreated to lead another expedition. With three hundred and fifty men he disembarked at Casco Bay and entered upon a very successful campaign; but the Government of Massachusetts, alleging their great losses in the Canada expedition under Phipps, declined to furnish provisions; his raw troops complained of their hard fare and entreated to be sent home, and the disgusted leader was obliged to disband his forces.

He returned to Boston, worn out with fatigue, his clothes in rags, penniless. The niggardly government contributed no money to supply his necessities, and treated him rather as a criminal than as a leader who had rendered unequalled service to the State. The conqueror of Philip was obliged to depend upon the charity of the master of the sloop which had brought him to Boston for his board for three days, and upon the generosity of an honest drover for the money with which to reach his home. He was even obliged to sell a part of his lands to pay the expenses of this expedition, under-

taken in the service of the colony. Malicious enemies, whose evil doings he had often condemned with all the force of his just indignation, spread abroad atrocious calumnies respecting him. Their stories were soon proved to be false, but the spirit of the gallant soldier was deeply wounded and he refused for a time to take the command which was offered him by Plymouth. Thrice afterward he went as commander of Eastern expeditions, his last commission, as colonel, having been made out by Governor Dudley. In each of these he was successful, and after each he received the same infamous treatment which the authorities of Massachusetts had before accorded him. This meanness and sordid parsimony seem to us at this day entirely inexplicable. Years after Mr. Church's death the General Court of Massachusetts became ashamed of their ingratitude, and rendered tardy justice to his memory by granting his heirs five hundred acres out of any unappropriated land in the province.

At the age of sixty-five, Colonel Church retired from military pursuits. In his expeditions in the East he had not won the fame which had crowned his earlier achievements, but in none of them had he been defeated, in not one of them had he even been repulsed. What other general of his age or country can show as wonderful a record?

Mr. Church lived several years in Bristol, and many of his children were born here. From this place he removed to Fall River, and finally went back to Little Compton. It is pleasant to think, that notwithstanding his long service in war, he was yet enabled by his energy and frugality in times of peace, to acquire a comfortable property, and that his declining years were not rendered bitter by the grinding chains of poverty. While he was living at Little Compton, he learned that his sister, Mrs. Irish, had lost her only child, and he went to pay her a visit of condolence. On his return, his horse stumbled and threw him with great force on the frozen ground; the old warrior had become exceedingly corpulent, and the fall ruptured a blood vessel. From the effects of this accident he

died on the 17th of January, 1718, being then seventy-eight years of age.*

Few men ever served their country more devotedly or more illustriously than he : few were treated with greater injustice and ingratitude when living, and few were more sincerely mourned when dead. Men forgot how often their own thin armor of self-complacency had been pierced by the sharp arrows of his fiery indignation, whenever the stern old hero had observed any indication of meanness or littleness of spirit. They thought of the upright citizen whose sturdy patriotism had never wavered, even when his reputation had been unjustly assailed by the most bitter calumnies which envenomed malice could suggest : of the valiant captain to whom, amid the fiercest carnage of the battle, men looked for inspiration as to the very embodiment of cool and unwavering courage.

* Mr. Church had five sons and two daughters. Of these, the youngest son, Charles, was born, lived and died in Bristol. He was for years the Sheriff of the County, and possessed much of his father's energy and force of character. He lies buried east of the Common. From him Colonel Peter Church is descended.

CHAPTER XIV.

JOHN SAFFIN.

AMONG the first inhabitants of Bristol was one who seemed born for controversies. Like the war-horse, he "scented the battle from afar," and was ever ready to plunge headlong into the midst of it. In almost all the prominent disputes of that early time, the name of John Saffin stands conspicuous as that of one of the leading disputants. Contests from which he might easily have escaped, and in the issue of which he could have had no special interest, he yet seems to have engaged in from a pure love of disputation. He was a man of undoubted ability and considerable education, was often honored with responsible offices in his earlier years, and but for his unfortunate temper, might have risen to the highest posts in the colony.

Mr. Saffin was born in England. He was the eldest son of Simon Saffin, merchant, of Exeter, and came to this country when quite a young man. In 1665 he joined the first church in Boston. In 1678 he was sufficiently prominent to take part in the ceremonies of Governor Leverett's funeral; in this same year his name appears on the handbill of the committee of the Narragansett Proprietors, which offered for sale tracts of land in that country. In consequence of this handbill, he was arrested by the colony of Rhode Island, after a trial was fined, and his estate was forfeited. In 1680 he was one of the assignees of the title of the Narragansett Country, and was present, in 1687, when Dudley organized the King's Province. In 1684-85 he

was a deputy for Boston to the General Court, and in 1686 his talents secured his election as Speaker of the House. This office he continued to hold until the usurpation of Andros. On 20th May, 1686, he was chosen by the General Court of Massachusetts as one of the Confidential Committee, to whom the care of the charter and all the important papers was entrusted. Although his name is given in the list of the original inhabitants of Bristol, he did not at once take up his abode in the town. Not until he had married the daughter of Mr. Lee, the first settled minister, did he finally cast in his lot with the new settlement. When the first town-meeting was held, he was probably present with the intention of becoming a citizen, but it was not until 1688 that he became an actual resident.

In 1689, with Byfield as a colleague, he represented the town at the General Court, and in 1691 and 1692 he was again its deputy. He was first Judge of Probate in the County of Bristol, holding the office from 1692 to 1702, when Mr. Byfield succeeded him: he was also judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts in the year 1701. In 1703 he had incurred the enmity of Dudley, and his name was erased from the list of the counselors.

In his later years his irascible temper seems to have led him into all manner of excesses. He separated from his wife* for some slight cause, and refused to live with her again, although earnestly entreated so to do. Only ten days before his death Cotton Mather addressed to him, upon this subject, a letter of admonition and reproof, to which he seems to have paid no attention. He died at Bristol, July 29, 1710.

His famous "retraction" of the charges which he had made against Byfield and Walley, is still preserved; the charges had been referred to arbitrators, and Saffin was judged to be in the wrong; the letter shows that

"E'en though vanquished he could argue still."

*Judge Saffin was thrice married. His first wife was Martha, daughter of Capt. Thomas Willet, of Swansea (now Barrington). (Captain Willet was the first mayor of New York.) Mrs. Elizabeth Lidgett was his second wife. He married Rebecca Lee in 1688.

JUDGE SAFFIN'S RETRACTION.

"Whereas I, who have heretofore subscribed, and enjoyed by an award of arbitration dated the 7th of July 1696, given under the hands and seals of the Hon. William Stoughton, lieutenant governor, Isaac Addington Esq., and John Leverett, M. A. Fellow of Harvard College, to make a retraction and acknowledgment in writing under my hand of supposed ill treatment, wrong and injury offered to Major John Walley and Captain Nathaniel Byfield, two of the first purchasers of Mount Hope Neck, by sundry reflections in a manuscript entitled "the Original of the Town of Bristol, or a true narrative of the first settlement of Mount Hope Neck, &c" which was made in behalf of the inhabitants of said town, who for divers years have complained and groaned under the grievances therein mentioned.

"Now, in order thereunto, I do hereby own and declare unto all mankind, that if breach of promise to a person or people, in a matter of great concernment be no evil; if the chopping and changing of the town commons to the great prejudice of the town; obstructing and stopping up several ways leading to men's lands (some of them that have been enjoyed above thirty years without molestation or disturbance,) to be tolerable and not a nuisance strictly prohibited by the laws of our nation, then I am exceedingly to blame in charging with evil in so doing. If the granting of land upon a good consideration, and upon the same promising to give a deed for the confirmation thereof, but delaying it, and after eight or nine years quiet possession by the grantee, these grantors give a deed of the same land unto others, if this, I say, be just and righteous dealing, then I am exceedingly to blame in charging with evil in so doing;

"If the taking up and dividing amongst themselves, and converting to their own private use in farms and great pastures, the most of a very considerable number of one hundred and twenty eight house-lots and ten-acre lots, which were by the four first purchasers in their grand articles under their hands and seals proposed, designed, and accordingly laid out, and declared to be for the encouragement, use, benefit, and accommodation, of so many families to build upon and settle on Mount Hope Neck, (besides farms and bigger parcels of land,) to make a town of trade as they were enjoyed by the Court of Plymouth; I say if these actions of theirs be not prejudicial and injurious to the inhabitants of the town of Bristol, then I have done them wrong in saying or writing so.

"If the wilful suffering a certain water-mill, (built for the town's use,) to fall and go to decay and utter ruin for by ends and sinister respects, not repairing it themselves nor suffering others to do it, who have also some right in it, be not a wrong and abuse to the town, said purchasers making it first a great argument of encouragement for our men to come and buy land of them to settle, in order to a town of trade as aforesaid, which is at large set forth in their said articles, and backed with many specious pretences and verbal promises never ful-

filled; now if these things are right and just, then I am exceedingly to blame in charging them with evil in so doing.

"Again, if it be not an unrighteous thing in Major Walley to take and receive £10 of the town of Bristol, and also many day's works of them, promising and engaging himself for the same, to make a bridge over a certain creek in a way that should lead to said mill, but never performed it nor returned the money again, but instead thereof hath stopped the way as aforesaid; I say, if such doings and actions be just and right, then I have done them wrong in writing to the contrary.

"And further, if the making of a deed by three of the first purchasers, for the dividing of sixteen of the remainder of the one hundred and twenty eight house-lots amongst four of them, pretending that Captain Nathan Hayman was then and therein acting with them as if he were alive, and did act and do as they did in all respects, (excepting subscribing his name,) for which they left a blank or space giving under their hands and seals, that on the twenty seventh day of June 1690, if the said Nathan Hayman did with them personally oblige himself, his heirs, &c, in the same manner as they did, three or four times mentioned in the said deed, whereas the man was dead and in his grave eleven months before, I say if these and such like strange actions and doings before mentioned, (all of which they have either owned or have proved to be done by them,) be warrantable, legal, just and right in the sight of God, or according to the laws of the nation, then I do hereby own and humbly acknowledge that I have done the said Major John Walley and Capt. Nathaniel Byfield much wrong and injury in rendering their said actions in my said narrative to be illegal, unjust, and injurious to the town of Bristol in general, and to myself in particular, for which I am sorry.

"I confess I might have spared some poetical notions and satirical expressions, which I have used by way of argument, inference, or comparison, yet the sharpest of them are abundantly short of those villifying terms and scurrilous language which they themselves have frequently given each other both in public and private, generally known in Bristol.

"But above all I am heartily sorry that it is my unhappiness to differ so much in my apprehensions from the honored gentlemen, the arbitrators, for whom I have always conceived and retained an honorable esteem and veneration, that I would even put my life into their hands, the truth whereof may appear by this late submission of mine, otherwise I should not have exposed myself as I have done.

"JOHN SAFFIN."

(This was delivered to Major Walley and Captain Byfield, on Friday, July 24, 1696.)

CHAPTER XV.

OTHER EARLY SETTLERS.

ONLY a very incomplete account has been handed down to us of the early lives of the other men whose names appear in the record of the first town-meeting.

John Cary came to Bristol from Bridgewater, Mass. He had been a merchant in London, and had accumulated some property before coming to America. His father was John Cary, a man of much influence by reason of his superior education and upright character, who came to Plymouth in 1630, many years before his son's arrival. Tradition says that the elder Cary taught the first Latin school in the colony. Mr. Cary built a house on the north side of what is now known as Malt House Lane. He was a brewer by trade, and his brewery, from which the lane derived its name, was built near this house. Some traces of this building may still be seen on the farm owned by the late William Paul. Mr. Cary made a great quantity of ale. The greater part of this he shipped to Newport, from which port it was distributed throughout the colonies. He carried on the business until his death, and was succeeded in it by his son. When the church was organized he was elected one of its deacons, and held the office until his death. At the death of Stephen Burton, he succeeded to the office which Burton had held.

Nathaniel Bosworth was the son of Dea. Benjamin Bosworth, and was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1651. His mother, Rebecca Stevens Bosworth, was killed by the Indians early in Philip's War. Mr. Bosworth lived for a while in Rehoboth,

and from thence moved to Bristol. He was both a cooper and a fisherman. As a cooper he formed a business connection with his brother deacon, John Cary, and the two wrought mightily together, not only in their business, but also in their spiritual relations. He was chosen deacon on the organization of the church. He died Aug. 31, 1690. His descendants are still numerous among us.

Nathaniel Reynolds was the son of Robert Reynolds, of Boston, Mass., and was probably born in England. He was admitted as a freeman in Boston in 1665, was a member of the Artillery Company, and did good service in the Indian war as captain of a company under Colonel Church. Mr. Reynolds built his house on the northeast corner of Bradford and Thames streets. The old building was torn down only a few years ago, and the store of Mr. J. Howard Manchester covers part of its site. The town records contain this minute of his death: "Captain Nathaniel Reynolds departed this life July 10th, 1708, his death being very sudden; for going in from his garden, sat down about two minutes, then rose up and went into his lodging-room, lay down on his bed and dyed, as it were in a fainting fit."

Hugh Woodbury was born in Salem, June 30, 1650.

William Throop, commonly called Goodman Throop, was of Scotch descent. He was a son of William Throop, who came from Leyden in 1640. He died Dec. 6, 1704. His descendants used to relate, with much pride, the particulars of his triumphal entrance into the town. First of all Bristolians, he made the journey from Barnstable "by team." He loaded all his household goods into an ox-cart, placed his family thereon, and with stately grandeur, amid the plaudits of envious but admiring spectators, moved onward to the spot which he had determined upon for his habitation.

Nathaniel Paine came from Swansea. He succeeded Byfield in his office of Judge of Probate.

Samuel Waldron had previously lived in Boston.

Jabez Gorham came from Barnstable. Christopher Saunders, from Rehoboth. William Brenton, from Swansea.

not Jabez Howland was the second son of the John Howland who came over in the "Mayflower." His mother was the daughter of Governor Carver. He married Bethiah Thatcher, and came to Bristol in 1681. He had already become acquainted with the Mount Hope Lands, in the war which was just ended, and in which he had served as Captain Church's lieutenant. Mr. Howland was a man of great force and energy, as he must needs have been who could prove himself an acceptable lieutenant to that tireless warrior. Throughout his long life he was honored with many and important trusts by his fellow-townsmen. He died in 1732, Oct. 17.

Richard Smith, the first town clerk, was born in London in 1643, came to Boston in 1673, and Nov. 9, 1680, removed to Bristol. He built a house near the northeast corner of Hope and Constitution streets, where his descendants, for many generations, lived and died. He was a mason and stone-cutter by trade, and the gravestone which he himself fashioned, and on which he traced his autograph, may still be seen in the burying-ground east of the Common. He died in 1696.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW THE TOWN WAS LAID OUT.

Abstract of the Grand Articles and Explanation of the Deed of Highways.

I. THE four proprietors had taken effective measures to promote the settlement of the town, even before all the formalities necessary to the transfer of the title to the land had been gone through with. In company with certain other men, to whom they had sold shares in the land, they drew up and signed what are known as the Grand Articles.

In these articles it was promised that there should be "in that part of Mount Hope Neck lying opposite Poppasquash Neck," one hundred and twenty-eight house-lots laid out. Each lot by the water-side was to contain about one acre. A highway of convenient breadth was to be laid out between the lots and the sea-side, and those whose lots bordered on the sea were to have the land lying between the highway and the sea, and the privileges of the beaches and flats as far as the channel. All the other lots were to contain about two acres, and to each of the lots ten acres were to be laid out at a convenient distance. Those having an eighth part were to have two house-lots together, two ten-acre lots together, and the first choice. The holders of a sixteenth part were to choose single house-lots and single ten-acre lots next. The holders of thirty-second parts were to select lots in the order in which they subscribed to the articles.

When all had chosen, those holding eighth and sixteenth

parts were to choose the other half of their proportion of town lots and ten-acre lots. The remainder of the land was to be disposed of by the proprietors.

Five hundred acres were to be laid out in small farms, and six hundred acres laid out in common. Of this common land all the proprietors of the one hundred and twenty-eight house lots, of the small farms, the Poppasquash Farm, the Ferry Farm, and the Mill Farm, were to have the benefit. It was agreed that suitable roads, highways and streets should be laid out. An allotment was to be made for the ministry, and such accommodations provided for the same "as shall be deemed necessary, which shall forever remain and be for the use of the ministry for the time being." Such a quantity of land as the first purchasers deemed requisite, was to be given for the encouragement of the *first* minister, and lands were also to be provided for the Meeting House, a Burying Place, the Town House, the Market House and the School House.

The holders of the smaller portions of land gave bond to the four proprietors faithfully to fulfill their part of the agreement, and the proprietors bound themselves, under penalty of forfeiting one hundred pounds, to settle with their families at Mount Hope within three years from the first day of May following, and to continue living there until at least sixty families should have settled. All others bound themselves to settle within three years, and "to continue at least till after the first of April next, come five years," under penalty of losing their whole share.

A farm was to be laid out upon Poppasquash Neck for the four first proprietors and other purchasers, a mill was to be built upon it and a road laid out to it, also a ferry was to be established and a house built. Across the Neck, by the Swansey line, a fence was to be put up.

The four proprietors and all that had deeds granted them bound themselves, under penalty of forfeiting £200, to build a house within one year from the 1st of November following. The house was to contain not less than two good rooms on a floor, and was to be two clear stories high, with brick or

stone chimneys. It was stipulated that all other persons should build a house "with not less than one good large room and two clear stories high, with brick or stone chimneys," within one year from date of purchasing, on penalty of forfeiting their lands. All persons were to fence their house-lots within one year.

Also, "the four First Proprietors and such as shall have deeds granted them, shall pay forty pounds per annum in money value to the minister of the place, besides the valuation that shall be laid upon their estate; this to continue until the minister can be comfortably supported with twenty pounds. The twenty pounds shall be paid besides the valuation, &c., until the minister can be maintained without it."

Every settler had liberty to buy marsh meadow land adjoining his own, but none could buy any meadow land lying against undivided land, unless by general consent. No undivided land could be sold unless the other proprietors had the first refusal of it, under penalty of £500. Proprietors were to have the refusal of lands to be sold, in preference to strangers. Any two of the first purchasers were empowered to sue others for a breach of the articles, and any four of the others could sue the four proprietors. Every settler was to pay his portion towards the erection of a Minister's House and a Meeting House.

These articles were signed on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1680, "in the thirty-second year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second over England, &c."

The signers were :—

John Walley, for an eighth part.

Nathaniel Oliver, for an eighth part.

Nathaniel Byfield, for an eighth part.

Stephen Burton, for an eighth part.

Isaac Waldron,* for a sixteenth part.

* Dr. Isaac Waldron died before the time had expired within which he was to settle with his family at Mount Hope. He repented of his purchase very soon after it was made, and offered £50 to be released from the bargain. Not being able to obtain a release he sold much of his land in small lots. This was greatly to his advantage but somewhat to the detriment of the town, as no man of equal means and influence was induced to take his place.

Benjamin Church, for a sixteenth part.
 Nathaniel Williams, for a thirty-second part.
 Nathaniel Reynolds, for a thirty-second part.
 John Walley, for a thirty-second part.
 John Wilkins, for a thirty-second part.
 William Ingraham, for a thirty-second part.
 Nathaniel Paine, for a thirty-second part.
 Christopher Saunders, for a thirty-second part.
 Nathan Hayman,* for a thirty-second part.
 John Walley, for a thirty-second part in behalf of Tim Clark.
 Nathaniel Bosworth, for two-thirds of a thirty-second part.
 Benjamin Joanes, for one-third of a thirty-second part.
 Samuel Woodbury, for a thirty-second part.

* "Reserving liberty without penalty for building his house and setting up chimneys, till October come twelvemonth."

II. The Deed of Highways, granted June 16, 1690, shows that but little change has since been made in the streets in the compact part of the town. The land was laid out in eight-acre squares. Four streets are mentioned by name, "now laid out lying between the two creeks at the north and south end, running nearly north and south; the lowest, Thames, lyeth according to the convenience of the shore; the next above is Hope, four rods wide, and is straight from end to end. The third street from salt water is High, five rods wide, and is straight from end to end; the fourth is Wood, four rods wide, straight from end to end." Thames Street is now three rods wide. It originally extended much further south than its present limit. The angry waters of that terrible day in September, 1815, swept away much of its southern portion, and the lower end was quite recently closed up by order of the Town Council. The other streets remain as when first laid out.

Nine cross streets are described in the Deed, "that lie near east and west, crossing the aforementioned and running down to the sea, seven whereof are five rods wide." "Of the other two the northernmost (Oliver) is four rods, and the southernmost but one (Burton) is three rods in breadth. Every one of said nine are straight, and run from Wood to *low water mark*, except the northernmost, which is from High to low water

mark." By the provisions of this Deed the inhabitants were allowed "the improvement of wharfing or otherwise using the breadth of any of the nine cross streets below low water mark, *provided such use be for the town's use and with the approbation and consent of the major part of the inhabitants, and the consent of the major part of the proprietors of the lands on each side of the street where such improvements shall be made, and the consent of the major part of the Four Proprietors living at the time of the improvement.*"

No names were at first given to seven of these streets. The four proprietors, being perhaps unable to agree upon any except Charles and Queen, decided to leave the task of naming to those who should come after them. It is to be regretted in this connection that their posterity did not recognize the pre-eminent claims to recognition of the four proprietors, and that their names are now applied to comparatively unimportant thoroughfares. Byfield Street (so called because Mr. Byfield's town house was situated upon it) was not one of the nine, but was opened for public use by Mr. Byfield some years after this time.

The nine streets in order were Oliver, Franklin, Bradford, State (first called Charles, afterward King Street), Church (first called Queen Street), Constitution, Union, Burton and Walley. Walley Street is now but four rods wide. Years ago John Lindsay had a distillery on the north side of the street. As his own lot was not sufficiently large to accommodate his business he used a part of the street adjoining for sheds. At that time the street was almost impassable because of the rocky ledges which extended across it. A complaint was made against Mr. Lindsay for trespassing, but at a town-meeting his eloquence (or spirits) moved his fellow-citizens to an exercise of great liberality, and the town voted to allow him the use of one rod on the north side of the street during its pleasure. Soon after, Mr. Lindsay walled in the rod of land, and the original line has never been re-established. All these cross streets are straight from end to end. Notwithstanding the buildings and the fences which obstruct the shore

ends of some of them, they may at any time be extended not only to low-water mark but to the ship channel, if the people of the town so desire and order.

The Back Road, Crooked Lane (now Bayview Avenue), Mount Lane, Tanyard Lane, and Sanford (sometimes called DeWolf) Lane, all of which are now four rods wide, are described in the Deed, but had not then been named. Several highways further north are also mentioned. One road, beginning opposite the west end of what is now Walnut Street, and extending to the salt water, does not seem ever to have been opened.

To enable the proprietors of the small farms, and the tenants of "the Commonages" more easily to reach their lands, many small lanes were laid out, which were afterwards closed by the men who had bought up the adjoining lots on both sides. This accounts for the sudden ending of such streets as Gooding's Lane. Access to the shore was secured to all by means of certain drift ways, duly specified, some of which have since inadvertently been allowed to be closed up.

"The Commonages" were mainly laid out between the Back Road on the east, Wood Street on the west, Crooked Lane on the north, and Sanford Lane on the south. Sanford Lane was one of the drift ways extending to the sea, the perpetual use of which is guaranteed in the deed. The eight-acre tract which now forms the Common, was given by the four proprietors, for the public use, benefit, and improvement, "that is to say, for a Meeting House, Town House, and for any other edifice for the town's use, for a market place, burying-place, training-field, or any other public use, with the approbation of the major part of the inhabitants."

A lot of land containing two acres was given to the town "for the encouragement and use of an able orthodox ministry." This lot was situated at the southeast corner of High and Bradford streets, the same upon which the church and chapel of the Congregational Society now stand. For the same purpose a twelve-acre lot west of the land "for common improvement," and a one hundred and fiftieth part of

the Commonages were set apart. "For the encouragement and use of an able schoolmaster," land of almost equal extent and value was presented, the four proprietors thus making manifest their conviction that religion and education should go hand in hand.

Never, before, in New England, had a town been laid out upon such a liberal scale, and with a more just appreciation of what the future needs of the place would be. That Bristol is now one of the most beautiful towns in the United States, is due almost entirely to the wise policy which its first inhabitants pursued. We, in this later day, have somewhat degenerated, in that we have allowed the newer portions of the town to be cut up with a multitude of streets, too small for any traffic, and laid out without any pretense to regularity. At a day not far distant, it is quite possible that our short-comings in this respect may have to be atoned for by a large expenditure of money. In the matter of highways, as in everything else, our ancestors thought it always best to begin well.

CHAPTER XVII.

SOME OLD HOUSES.

WHEN the early settlers had selected their building-lots, it was not difficult to gather together the necessary materials for their houses. The site of the town was covered with a dense growth of trees, the oak and the hornbeam predominating, and from each man's lot a large proportion of the timber which he needed could be cut, while the adjacent highway easily yielded the remainder. Only a comparatively slight amount of labor was necessary to secure an abundance of stone suitable for the foundations and the chimneys, and lime was easily obtained by burning the shells which were everywhere found upon the shores. The nails were usually brought from Boston.

Not much diversity of taste was visible in the exterior appearance of the first dwellings. In the Grand Articles it was stipulated that the proprietors, and all who should have deeds granted them, should build a house two stories high, with not less than two good rooms on a floor. To build a house with four rooms upon each floor would take more time than most of the settlers could well spare from the work of clearing their farms and making passable the streets; it would also be too expensive; so the "camelopard" style of building was adopted. This presented a goodly appearance to the eye of him who stood directly in front, but began to grow beautifully less as soon as the beholder shifted his position; a few steps only would be sufficient to establish the fact that the stately mansion soon degenerated into a

wood-pile. As the means of the owners increased, additions and alterations were made to the early houses, and as the later comers were enabled to devote more time and money to the construction of their dwellings, the old type of house gradually disappeared. A few of those built in later years yet remain. One may still be seen on the west side of the "Main Road," not far from "Poppasquash Corner."

Usually one chimney was deemed sufficient for each house. Those who can recall the appearance of the old chimney which used to stand near the northeast corner of Constitution and Thames streets (it once belonged to the house of Capt. Benjamin Church), can get a very good idea of what a stupendous thing the chimney of our forefathers was. The brick chimneys were only about fourteen feet square, but those which were built wholly of stone were, for the most part, about twenty feet square at the base. All had immense fire-places, usually large enough for a full-grown man to walk into without stooping, and all were most admirably adapted to keep a house cold. The carpenter's work, in those early days, was somewhat rude and imperfect, but the ventilation of the house was always most excellent, and there was never any lack of fresh air. On the cold mornings of December the members of the family would come shivering down to breakfast,—for our hardy ancestors disdained to have a fire in their sleeping-rooms. An enormous pile of huge logs would be blazing upon the ample hearth, and the faces of those who incautiously ventured too near the fire would be almost blistered with the heat; but in the farther corners of the room the snow which had drifted in through the cracks during the night would still lie unmelted upon the floor, and even the coffee left upon the table would soon be frozen in the cups. It is not to be wondered at that our fathers, who were brought up in this heroic manner, were able to endure without much discomfort a degree of cold from which we, their degenerate sons, shrink homeward in dismay.

Two years after the settlement of the town, some eighteen dwelling-houses had been erected. The greater portion of



The Old Bosworth House.

these were pulled down, to give place to more modern dwellings. Six were burnt by the British troops. Two of the oldest still remain, though both have been greatly altered in appearance.

Just north of the Town Bridge,* on the east side of the road, stands the first house erected within the limits of Bristol. It is now the residence of Mrs. James DeWolf Perry, one of the descendants of its first owner. It was built by Deacon Nathaniel Bosworth, in the year 1680. Many changes and additions have been made since that time. Only the southwest portion was built by Mr. Bosworth, but his successors have taken care, in the additions which they have made, to preserve the architectural peculiarities, and the old mansion which has withstood the storms of two centuries, still presents the air of quiet comfort which first made glad the heart of Deacon Bosworth. The years have dealt tenderly with the old house, and the loving hands of its successive occupants have carefully repaired the ravages of time. The southwest room remains almost as it was when,

* In the old records this bridge is usually spoken of as the North Bridge, or the bridge over the North Creek, to distinguish it from the South Bridge, almost opposite Walker's Island. The South Creek must once have been almost as prominent a feature of the town as the North Creek still is, but the many changes made upon its banks within the past century, have almost caused us to forget that such a creek ever existed.

in 1680, the people of the little settlement gathered within its walls for their first religious service. Mr. Bosworth died in 1690, and the house remained in the possession of descendants bearing his name until 1750.

In the year 1750 it was bought by Shearjashub Bourne,* a lawyer of distinction who had settled in Bristol five years before. Mr. Bourne's wife was a descendant of Nathaniel Bosworth, and had previously inherited a part of his estate. When Wallace bombarded the town, in 1775, Mr. Bourne was living in the house. Its present owner received from her mother, in her childhood, the tradition that several cannon balls, shot from the British vessels during the bombardment, had pierced the walls of the old building and lodged between the ceiling and the floor of the second story. Incredulous listeners had smiled with poorly concealed disbelief whenever the story was told, but the faith of its narrator had never wavered. In 1863 the ceiling of the great parlor was torn down to make some necessary repairs, and Mrs. Perry was sarcastically invited to find the cannon balls. Scarcely had she entered the room when down fell several large sized grape-shot almost at her feet, and the voice of skepticism was hushed.

In 1797, fleeing from the yellow fever at Providence, Judge Benjamin Bourne † came to live in his father's mansion. Then

* Shearjashub Bourne graduated from Harvard College in 1743, in the same class with the Rev. John Usher, Jr. He died at Bristol Feb. 9, 1781.

† Benjamin Bourne was born in the Old Bosworth House, Sept. 9, 1755. He graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1775, and at once commenced the study of law. His talents and learning soon gained for him a commanding position in his profession, and the greater part of his life was spent in the public service. In 1776 he was Quartermaster of the Second Rhode Island Regiment. He was for several years a member of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, and in 1789, in company with the Rev. James Manning, President of Brown University, he was deputed to present to the United States Congress the petition setting forth the distressed condition of Rhode Island, and praying that her commerce might be exempted from foreign duties in the ports of the Union. When Rhode Island adopted the Constitution of the United States, and became a member of the American Union, in 1790, he was elected her first Representative to Congress, and was re-elected to the Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses, serving from Dec. 17, 1790, to 1796. In 1796 he resigned his seat, and in 1801 he was appointed Judge of the United States District Court, for the District of Rhode Island. Judge Bourne received the degree of LL. D. from Brown University in 1783, and was a member of its Board of Trustees from 1792 until his death, Sept. 17, 1808.

the old house rang with the voices of the lawyers who made the Rhode Island Bar illustrious three-quarters of a century ago. James Burrill, then the Attorney-General of the State, was a frequent visitor : Benjamin R. Hazard (Black Ben, he used to be called), Asher Robbins, Elisha R. Potter, who for forty years was such a conspicuous figure in Rhode Island politics, and Wilkins Updike, often crossed its threshold. From the neighboring state of Massachusetts, Fisher Ames, the man whom friends and foes alike acknowledged to be the ablest debater in the National House of Representatives, came frequently to visit his old college friend. With these older lawyers there entered sometimes a young man whose withering sarcasm, wonderful knowledge of human nature, fervid eloquence and rare reasoning powers afterwards did so much to enhance the fame of Rhode Island whenever Tristram Burges rose from his seat in the halls of Congress.

Judge Bourne made some changes in the house, and added, for his library, the room at the southeast corner. In the great gale of 1815 the inhabitants of the flimsier dwellings of a later age fled to the stout old house, as a haven of refuge when the fierce waves were threatening to engulf them. The waters swept over the threshold, wrenched off a door or a blind here and there, and filled the rooms of the lower story level with the window seats, but no special harm was done to the house itself. In 1863 the whole building was carefully repaired, and the northeast part was added. The venerable mansion shows to-day few signs of age, and seems likely to outlast most of the houses which have lately sprung up around it.

The Walley house, of which mention has been made in a previous chapter, is also standing, though sadly changed. The stout oaken beams which form its frame still remain sound as of yore, but the exterior has been many times changed, as the inroads of time have made repairs necessary, or the tastes and the means of successive proprietors have suggested alterations. The old building has passed through strange vicissitudes. When it was erected, and for several years after that time, no houses were built on the west side

of Thames Street, and it stood in solitary state among trees which almost surrounded it, but which left its view of the harbor unobstructed. From its upper windows curious eyes looked outward upon bark canoes, gliding silently over the sparkling waters, and the little shallops of the coasting trade winging their way from port to port. Gradually houses grew up about it, and the Indian canoes and humble shallops gave place to the larger vessels which the West India business required. These, again, passed away, and ambitious warehouses received the rich freights which stately ships had brought from all quarters of the globe. Afterwards, a row of insignificant buildings shot up in front of it, as if to mock its former grandeur, the shrill whistle of the steamboat and the busy hum of machinery were heard in the air, and the old mansion which had welcomed beneath its hospitable roof the famous statesmen, the accomplished divines, and the lovely women of the old colonial days, awoke one day to find that it had fallen forever from its high estate, and had become a factory tenement-house.

Nathaniel Byfield built his first house on Byfield Street, on the lot where the residence of Mr. Isaac F. Williams now stands. It also was one of the earliest dwellings, and was occupied until 1833, when it was torn down to make way for the present building. The old house was two stories in height, with a barn roof, and was nearly square, its dimensions being thirty by thirty-eight feet. It was not built in the "camelopard" style, already described, and had no "lean-to." Its frame was made of the hardest kind of blue white-oak, and was joined together in the strongest manner possible. These timbers showed no signs of decay when the old building was taken down, and seemed indignantly to defy the feeble efforts of the carpenters to fashion them for further use; the keenest tools could hardly make an impression upon them. Some of them, however, which were afterwards used for the sills of another building, soon decayed when placed in their new location. Like human beings, they had become accustomed to one variety of climate, and could not endure the

change when exposed in their old age to strange draughts of air. The great chimney, fourteen feet square, stood almost in the centre of the house and directly opposite the front door; around this chimney it was necessary to go in passing from the front of the house to the rear. This chimney was built entirely of imported bricks, and was held together with mortar mixed with shell-lime. So hard had this mortar become by lapse of time that when the old chimney was finally overthrown, it fell to the ground as a log would fall, almost without a break. The floors were made of very wide boards of some foreign wood, and were fastened with wrought-iron nails: no other kind of nails was used in the construction of the house. The four rooms on the ground floor were eight and a half feet high; on the second floor they were perhaps a foot lower. Huge beams ran across the ceiling of every room, and the spaces between the beams were plastered. (The hair used in the plaster was hogs' bristles.) The lower front rooms were wainscoted, while the walls of the back rooms were plastered. Immense fire-places in each room were provided for warming the house. This was undoubtedly the finest of the early residences, the ample means of its owner enabling him to build in more expensive style than his neighbors.

When the house was built, Mr. Byfield probably intended to live in it. The farms upon Poppasquash at first belonged to many proprietors, and it was not until he had acquired the ownership of almost all the peninsula that he decided to erect a second dwelling upon Poppasquash, and to make that his homestead. The house on Byfield Street was, in the earliest days of the town, devoted to public uses. At a town-meeting held February 20, 1681-82, the town agreed to pay Mr. Byfield £10 for the use of his house for one year, "or so much of the house as Mr. Woodbridge (the first minister) will be satisfied withal for the convenience of his family." The lower front room at the south end was also engaged "for the Town to meet in upon Sabbath days," the town agreeing to leave it in good repair. Byfield Street was

originally planned by Mr. Byfield himself, as a drive-way to his house. Milk Street he opened in order the more conveniently to reach his stable, which stood upon Church Street, near the spot where the three-story tenement-house now stands.

The second Byfield house was built on Poppasquash, on the lot where Deacon William Manchester's house now stands. This was considered the finest site for a dwelling-house on the peninsula, and was one of the last lots which came into Mr. Byfield's possession. It had at first been purchased by Major Walley, and was by him transferred to his associate. This house was larger than the town house, but was by no means as fine a building. It was a "camel-opard," fronted south, and was two stories high in front. In the rear its roof was carried downward until it was only about seven feet from the ground. This building was framed with the same species of iron timber which had been used in the first house. Some of its beams are still doing good service in various out-buildings upon the Church farms. A large, double door, about six feet wide, opened to receive the guests who came to share Mr. Byfield's generous hospitality. Within the hall, two doors standing open on either side displayed the white, sanded floors of two rooms, each sixteen feet square. The windows of these rooms were furnished with wooden blinds,—shutters we should call them now,—an unusual luxury in those days. The walls of all the rooms were plastered. No paint seems to have been used, either upon the exterior or the interior, and the wood-work was almost black with age when the house was finally demolished.

The tenants of the house (it held four families in its later years) used sometimes to fear that it would come tumbling about their heads in some of the autumn gales, so aged did it seem, but their fears were groundless. The boisterous winds, raging angrily about, might tear off here and there a clapboard from the front, or send some of the long slab shingles which covered the sides of the old building whirling

through the air, but the great oaken beams of the frame only braced themselves the more firmly against the two immense chimneys, and grimly defied the shrieking adversary. When the house was near its end the floors of all the rooms sloped downward from the chimneys: the foundation walls had settled away, but the chimneys stood as when the masons left them. In each room were great fire-places, and, strange to say, an oaken beam a foot in diameter ran across each fire-place, exposed to the smoke and the flames of a hundred and fifty years of fire.

One of these mammoth fire-places was almost directly opposite the door at the back of the house. On a cold, snowy day in November the father of the present owner of the land rose early in the gray dawn of the morning and went out to feed his cattle. As he passed into the kitchen he was somewhat troubled to find the outer door open and a snow-drift upon the floor. He was not much surprised at the circumstance, however, for tramps were then unknown, and bolts and bars were not looked after as in these later days. "The wind has blown the door open," he thought, and went onward to the barn-yard. At that time farmers paid little attention to the housing of their cattle and left them to seek shelter for themselves. All the cattle were there but one great ox, and he could nowhere be found. Mindful of the snowy kitchen, and possible reflections upon the subject from his good wife, the farmer did not stay long to seek for him, but retraced his steps and was soon hard at work upon the drift. Suddenly he became aware of an unusual sound from the chimney, and turning about beheld the missing ox gazing with tranquil approbation upon his labors. The animal had wandered inquiringly up to the door, and it had yielded hospitably to his touch. The fire had died upon the hearth, but the great brick mass still retained an enticing warmth, and the ox complacently accepted its genial shelter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GLEANINGS FROM THE TOWN RECORDS OF THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY.

THE history of the town during the first fifty years of its existence may be gleaned in a very satisfactory manner from the records of the town-meetings. From such a source at the present time, only a series of dry and uninteresting resolves could be brought forward, to tire the patience of the reader, but in those earlier days, when the number of inhabitants was small, when all were members of one church, and the church and town were one, common desires, common needs, and common trials stamped a vivid and lasting impression of the times, even upon the dull pages of the town clerk.

The first meeting for the transaction of general business was held on the tenth day of November, 1681. Jabez Howland was chosen town clerk until the succeeding June, and Jabez Gorham, surveyor of highways for the same period. It would appear that "prophane" persons had made their appearance in the settlement, even at that early date, and that their presence had been tolerated and perhaps encouraged by thoughtless settlers, because their assistance was needed in clearing away the forests and in building houses. The law which the General Court had passed "For the preventing of prophane increasing in the Colony, which is so provoking to God, and threatening to bring judgment upon us," was entirely disregarded, therefore the town voted,

"That if any Inhabitant entertain or employ any person, after he hath been ten days orderly warned out of the said Town, shall be liable to

pay ten shillings a week for the use of the Town so long as he shall entertain him or them afterward."

"Voted, a pair of *Stocks* be made and set up speedily, and that a Pound be built and the charges to be paid out of the Rates."

"The Town orders Fifty pounds to be Rated, Forty pounds for and towards the Building of a House for the Minister,* and Ten pounds to defray publick charges in the said Town. This rate to be paid in Money or equivalent to Money, to be paid at or before the 15th day of May next."

Mr. Nathaniel Byfield. Capt. Benjamin Church, and Sergeant John Cary were appointed Raters.

At the next meeting, Feb. 20, 1682, Jabez Gorham agreed to provide wood for Mr. Woodbridge and his family for one year, for £5 in silver money. When we consider that firewood was more plenty than anything else in the little town, we can form some idea of the enormous amount which was deemed necessary for each household, from the price which Mr. Gorham placed upon his own labor. At least forty cords a year must have been consumed by each family.

At this meeting

"The Inhabitants of said Town agreed that no Horse nor Horse kind shall be suffered to go at large upon the Common, but such as are kept for saddle or draught, and that all such horses, their color with their mark, shall be by the owners of them brought to the Town Clerk and he to enter them into the Town Book, and if any neglect to do so, if their Horse or Horses be taken up, the owner of such Horse or Horses shall be liable to pay Twenty Shillings, that is to say — Ten Shillings to the use of the Town and Ten Shillings to the person that takes him up, and that all persons that have any Horse or Horses going upon the Common, they shall brand them with the Town brand, with a B on the off shoulder."

This book of Marks, etc., is still preserved, and furnishes interesting reading to the antiquarian. In this book was kept a record of all horses brought into the town, and also of those exported from it. Much attention was paid to the breeding of horses in those earlier years, and very many cargoes of them were shipped to the West Indies and the Spanish Main. The first recorded shipment was made by

*The proceedings respecting the choosing and supporting the minister will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Nathaniel Byfield, on the 6th of November, 1686. A number of his horses were placed on board the "Bristol Merchant," bound for Surinam, and the distinguishing characteristics of each animal are carefully specified.

— Mr. Jabez Howland does not appear to have made a very efficient town clerk, and at a meeting held May 22, 1682, Richard Smith was chosen in his stead, "to *do the office* of a Town Clerk, and to enter upon record what former town orders had been made." The town had by no means lost confidence in Mr. Howland, for it immediately proceeded to elect him to the responsible office of Selectman.* His colleagues were Benjamin Church and John Rogers. Captain Church was elected to represent the infant town at the General Court, and Increase Robinson was chosen Constable.

The Constable's Oath was as follows:—

"You shall Swear to be truly Loyal to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, his Heirs and successors, you shall faithfully serve in the office of a Constable, in the Township of Bristol on Mount Hope, for this present year, according to that measure of Wisdom, understanding and discretion God hath given you, in which time you shall diligently see that Majesty's peace commanded be not broken but shall carry the persons before the Governor of this Corporation, or some, or one of his

* The office of Selectman was, at this time, one of very great importance. The General Court had enacted that either three or five such officers should be chosen in each town; they were empowered "to hear and determine all debts and differences arising betwixt person and person, not exceeding thirty shillings," to hear and determine differences between settlers and Indians, to give forth summons in His Majesty's name, and to determine controversies according to legal evidence, to administer oaths, and issue executions. They were required to take notice of all who should come into the government, and to require an account of all who should neglect to attend public worship from supposed profanity or slothfulness. No single persons could live by themselves or in any families but those approved by them. They could, with the constable, "repair to any house or place where they might suspect that any slothful did lurk at home or get together in companies to neglect the public worship of God, or profane the Lord's Day," and return the names of offenders at the next court for punishment. They were thus the chief executive and police officers of the towns; they were judicial officers also, and had a general oversight over manners and morals. It is not to be wondered at that men sometimes shrank from the responsibilities of the position, and that a law had to be passed fining any man who should refuse to take the office. The following oath was required of the selectmen:—

"You shall, according to the measure of Wisdom and discretion God has given you, faithfully and impartially try such cases between party and party, brought before you, as also give summons respecting your trust as Select Man of the Town of Bristol for this present year, So help you God."

The office of constable was also a very important one. Its duties are accurately defined in the oath above given.

Assistants, and there attend the hearing of the Case, and such order as shall be given you, you shall apprehend all suspicious persons and bring them before the said Governor, or some one of his Assistants as aforesaid. You shall duly and truly serve such Warrants and Summons' as shall be directed unto you from the Governor and Assistants before mentioned, or by such as are, or may be Deputed by the Court to grant Warrants and Summons' in his Majesty's name within your Town or Liberties, and shall labor to advance the peace and happiness of this Corporation, and oppose any thing that shall seem to annoy the same, by all due means and courses. So help you God who is the God of truth and the punisher of falsehood."

By a law of the colony passed in 1659, each constable was obliged to provide himself with a staff, and if not re-elected he was required to deliver this badge and weapon of office to his successor. Any one refusing to take the office was fined £4.

September 7, 1682, the first action respecting a school was taken.

"Voted concerning a School, viz.: That each person that hath Children in Town ready to go to School shall pay three pence the week for each Childs Schooling to a Schoolmaster, and the Town by Rate according to each Ratable Estate shall make the wages amount to Twenty-four pounds the year. The Select Men to look out a Grammar Schoolmaster and use their endeavor to attain five pounds of the Cape Money granted for such an end."

(The subsequent votes on school matters will be given in the chapter on the schools.)

At a town-meeting held December 22, 1682,

"It was voted and ordered that things Ratable shall be valued as followeth —

Meadow Land at three pounds the Acre.

Land improved by Plow or Hoe, at thirty shillings the Acre.

Land within fence for pasture for their own particular use at twenty shillings the Acre.

Dorman Land at forty shillings a hundred Acres.

A yoke of Oxen at six pounds.

A Cow at forty shillings.

A two year old at twenty shillings.

A yearling at twelve shillings.

A Horse at three pounds.

A Mare at forty shillings.

A two year old Colt at twenty shillings.

A year old Colt at ten shillings.

A Swine of half a year old at four shillings.

A Swine of a year old, and upwards, at ten shillings.

Sheep at twenty shillings the score.

Single persons that have been here three months five shillings a piece.

The rate of faculties and personal abilities, to be left at the Raters discretion."

May 28, 1683, "John Rogers had a grant from the Town by vote that the Selling of Wine and Rum by Retail might be added to his former license." This was the first license given to sell any liquors at retail.

Up to Aug. 9, 1686, the first Training Day, forty-four persons had taken the Oath of Fidelity,* one of the essential conditions to the exercise of the right of suffrage. These were : —

JUNE 20, 1683.

John Wilkins,	George Waldron,	John Gladding,
Hugh Woodbury,	Thomas Walker,	Bellamy Bosworth,
Jonathan Davenport,	John Pope,	Edward Bosworth,
Richard Smith,	John Martin,	Nicholas Mead,
John Corps,	James Burrill,	Robert Taft,
Joseph Ford,	Benjamin Jones,	Joseph Jacobs.
John Hinton,	Zachary Curtis,	

MAY 21, 1684.

Nathaniel Bosworth,	Samuel Woodbury,	Solomon Curtis.
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MAY 17, 1685.

Samuel Gallup,	William Brown,	John Bailey,
Uzal Wardwell,	Joseph Griffing,	George Morye,
Thomas Daggett,	Jeremiah Finney,	James Burroughs.
Joseph Sandy,	Philip Bumpus,	

AUGUST 9, 1686.

Capt. Nathan Hayman,	John Thurston,	Samuel Penfield,
John Wilson,	Jeremiah Bosworth,	George Gold,
Watching Atherton,	Samuel Smith,	Robert Dutch.
Peter Pampelion,		

* The Oath of Fidelity was as follows: "You shall be truly loyal to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, his heirs and successors, and whereas you choose at present to reside within the government of New Plymouth, you shall not do or cause to be done any act or acts, directly or indirectly, by land or water, that shall or may tend to the destruction or overthrow of the whole or any the several plantations or townships within the said government that are or shall be orderly erected or established, but shall contrawise hinder, oppose, and discover the same, and such intents and purposes as tend thereunto, to the governor for the time being, or some one of the assistants with all convenient speed. You shall also submit unto and obey all such good and wholesome laws, ordinances, and offices as are or shall be established within the limits thereof. So help you God."

The name of Benjamin Church frequently appears in the early records. He was the first deputy of the town at Plymouth, and one of the first selectmen, and was so often appointed on committees to take charge of public business, that the absence of his name from the records indicates, in almost every case, his absence from the town at that time. In 1683 the wolves had become exceedingly troublesome, and Captain Church had evidently expressed his mind in very strong terms concerning the ineffectual warfare which had been carried on against them, for it was voted in May, that "Forty shillings forth of the next rate," should be given to such person or persons as should make two wolf-pits "to the liking of Capt. Church and Sergeant Cary: the benefit of the Pits to go to the makers of the Pits provided he keep them well." Henry Hamton rashly attempted the task, and his work was by no means satisfactory. Oct. 24, 1683, the town agreed to leave the controversy with Hamton to be decided by the constable and selectmen, and Church agreed to make the pits within a month. Of course we read nothing further concerning the matter.

On the 24th of October, 1683, the name of John Saffin first appears upon the minutes of the proceedings. He had neglected to pay the rate which had been assessed against him, and Walley, Byfield, and Church were appointed a committee to attend to such cases. At this same meeting a rate of £250 for the erection of a meeting-house was ordered, and in anticipation of its immediate completion

"It was Voted that the way for Warning all Town Meetings for hereafter, shall be by a paper posted on or by the Meeting House Door and Signed by him as the Law directs, and shall be set up three Days or more (one of the three being a Sabbath day) before said Meeting."

The meeting on May 21, 1684, seems to have been very poorly attended (for a long time the inhabitants of the colony were allowed to send in their votes by proxy), and it was

"Agreed that every Inhabitant of this Town, that doth not appear and attend at the Town Meeting orderly warned at the time appointed, shall for every neglect, pay two shillings, to the use of the Town, to be added to their next Rate, and gathered or levied together with their

Rate, unless they give their excuse to the Select Men before the next Rate be made, and the major part of the Select Men be satisfied therewith."

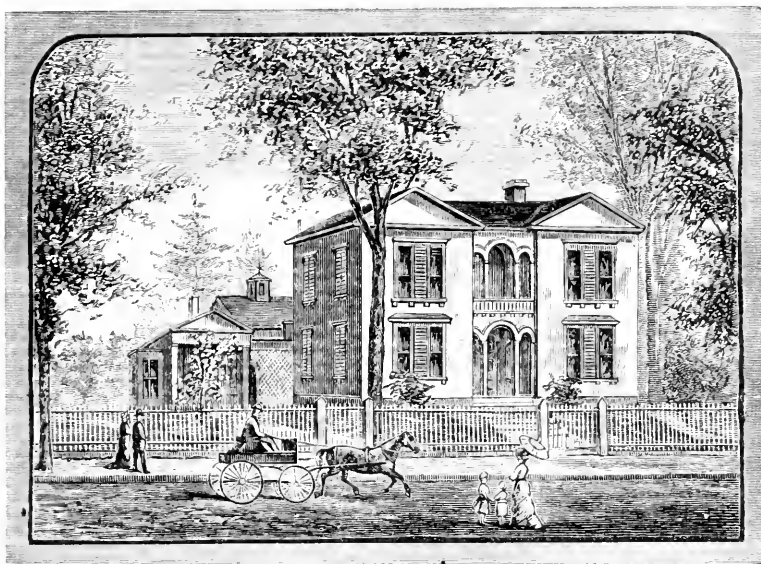
At this meeting Mr. Walley completed the arrangement respecting "a Cart Bridge over the Creek near Mr. Bosworth's," which is alluded to with such satisfaction to Major Walley in Judge Saffin's retraction.* The following additional agreement reads very strangely at this age: "Agreed that said Walley finding good gates and keeping them in good repair every inhabitant in town shall be liable to pay Five Shillings to said Walley, each time they leave any of the gates open that are in the way to the mill, *every inhabitant to be accountable for his family.*"

Sept. 16, 1684. "The Town orders that William Carrenton shall have forty shillings in money for Ringing the Bell at five of the Clock in the Morning, and nine of the Clock at Night for the Week, and to ring four times on the Sabbath day, the time commencing and beginning April 18th last passed and from thence to complete a whole year. It is also ordered that what person soever shall presume to Ring the Bell at any unreasonable time shall forfeit five shillings in Money, for the use of the Town to be gathered by the Constable, by Warrant from a Magistrate."

This was the bell which had been presented for the use of the people by Nathaniel Oliver, in 1682. It had not been given outright, but had been loaned for an indefinite time. The town had agreed to deliver the bell to Mr. Oliver when it should be called upon to do so, or if the bell should be "damnified, to make satisfaction." It was at first hung in a tree at the corner of High and State streets (on the lot where the residence of Dr. Lemuel W. Briggs now stands), but was hung on the top of the meeting-house in 1692. The practice of ringing the bell of the Congregational Church at nine o'clock at night was continued until 1871. Nathaniel Church was the last bell-ringer, and held the office almost thirty years.

In 1685 the colony was divided into three counties, bearing the names of Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable. The County of Bristol, of which Bristol was created the shire town in

* See page 90.



Residence of Dr. Lemuel W. Briggs.

accordance with the provisions of the Grand Deed,* comprised the following towns and plantations: —

“ Incorporated in	Taunton,	{	Comprised the towns of Norton, Dighton, Rayn-	
1639.	<i>Cohannet</i> ,		ham, Easton, Mansfield, and Berkley.	
1645.	Rehoboth,	{	Seekonk, Pawtucket.	
	<i>Seekonk</i> ,			
	<i>Wannamoisset</i> ,			
1664.	Dartmouth,	{	New Bedford (Accushena), Westport (Accukset), Fair Haven (Sconticut).	
	<i>Accushena</i> ,			
1667.	Swansey,	{	Warren, Barrington, Somerset.	
	<i>Pokanoket</i> ,			
	<i>Sourams</i> ,			
1681.	Bristol,		<i>Kikenault</i> .	
1682.	Little Compton,		<i>Seacommet</i> .	
1683.	Freetown,		<i>Assonet</i> , Troy.	
	Rehoboth North Purchase	{	Plantations,	Attleborough.
	Gore,				Cumberland.
	<i>Panwateest</i> ,	{	Tiverton.” +	
	<i>Pocasset</i> ,			

At this time Bristol was the most thriving town in the colony, and was steadily increasing in influence and import-

* See page 62.

+ From the *New England Memorial*.

ance. In the succeeding year Sir Edmund Andros attempted to collect from the town the tax of one penny per pound, which had been levied throughout the colony for the support of the government. This action of the royal governor called for a vigorous remonstrance from the people, and the selectmen (Capt. Benjamin Church, Mr. Thomas Walker, and Mr. John Rogers) were instructed to write "to his Excellency, our Governor, to request him to confirm the Grant of the former Governor to this Town, which was to be free from all Country Rates for seven years, which term of years is not out till the First of April next come twelve months." "The answer from his Excellency and Hon^d Council was, that this Town should be free from one Country Rate, which was the first general rate made in the Country by virtue of his Excellencies, our Hon^d Governor and Council's Order."*

April 29, 1689. "Upon an extraordinary occasion of the Colony sending to all Towns concerned, to send their Agents to Plymouth, for to consider what might most tend to the peace, settlement, and unity of the Colony. And thereupon, the Town employed Capt. Nath. Byfield, and Lienten't Stephen Burton, for the end above mentioned."

Sir Edmund Andros had just been deposed, and the state of all New England was very unsettled.

"By virtue of a Warrant from Gov. Hinckley, Dated at Plymouth, Octob. 17, 1689, for the proportion of this Town, towards a War Rate amounting to thirty-five pounds. At a Town Meeting, Nov. 8th, 1689, were chosen Mr. Stephen Burton, Will'm Throop, and Serj't Cary, Raters for the Town, for this Rate."

This was in the time of King William's War. Benjamin Church had been appointed Major and Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the United Colonies, and had gone on his first "Expedition to the Eastward." †

Nov. 18, 1689. "John Corps, chosen Pound-keeper, and digger of Graves, likewise he is chosen Sweeper of Meeting-house, and Ringer of the Bell, and the Selectmen are to agree with him by the year."

* It was the custom to exempt new settlements from taxation for seven years.

† See page 83.

Jan. 18, 1692. "Voted, that Widow Corps shall have three pounds for this year, it being for Ringing the Bell for Sabbath days, and Town Meetings, and also for Sweeping the Meeting house — the Year beginning Nov. 18th, 1691."

In 1692 the Colony of Plymouth was united to its younger sister of Massachusetts Bay. The first deputies to represent the town in the new government were John Saffin and Stephen Burton, chosen on the thirtieth day of May, 1692.

March 23, 1693. It was voted that every town-meeting should begin and end with prayer. In the earlier years of the colony this had everywhere been done as a matter of course, and the fact that such a vote was necessary marks a great change in the character of the people. Jan. 5, 1694, it was voted,

"That those that go away from a Town Meeting before said Meeting be discharged according to a former Town order by Prayer, shall forfeit and pay each man one shilling (for every such breach of order), to be added by the Rate-makers to their Town Rate, the account of them to be given in by the clerk."

"October 30th, 1693. At a Town Meeting it was Voted, that we would have in this Town a Market Day, with the several orders thereto belonging, which was signed by John Cary and Thomas Walker, Selectmen, and presented to, and approved by the Hon'ble Court of Quarter Sessions on Octob. 31st, the day immediately following. As Attests, John Cary, Clerk.

"To all People, more especially to all our good friends and neighbors, to whom these presents shall come: The Inhabitants of the Town of Bristol send Greeting.

"Know ye, that whereas it hath been sufficiently proved by long experience in England and elsewhere: That Markets and Fairs have been of great utility and benefit, both to Town and Country, in divers respects, too large to be here inserted — We the Inhabitants of the s'd Town having duly considered the premises, do take up a resolution, God willing, to make an essay therein, to which purpose, by virtue of the liberty granted us, with other Towns by the Hon'ble General Assembly, empowering us to make bye Laws, or Orders suitable to our state and condition, and amongst other orders, have made one to this effect, viz.

"That no person or persons Inhabitant of the Town of Bristol, shall on any pretence whatsoever, Buy or purchase any provision or other things usually brought into the said Town to be sold, on any other day of the Week, save only upon Thursday (which we do hereby publish and declare to be our Market day) except what any one may Buy at the dwelling House or Farm of any living remote, on the penalty of forfeit-

ing the one half of the value of what is otherwise bought, to the use of the Town, not exceeding forty shillings, at one time, nor shall any presume to forestall the Market, by buying anything upon the Road, or Highway coming to Market, on the like penalty. This order to commence and be in force on the next Thursday after the Fair at Bristol to be held in May next ensuing, that no person may plead Ignorance hereof.

"This order was confirmed at their Majesties Court of Quarter Sessions, held at Bristol in October, 1693. As Attests, John Cary, for the County of Bristol. Licensed according to Order, Boston, December 3d, 1693."

"Voted, June 26th, 1694, at a Town Meeting. Whereas the Inhabitants of this Town have upon mature consideration, hired a Shepherd to keep a general flock of Sheep on the Common, consisting of several particulars, for the mutual good and benefit of the whole, and that it is found very prejudicial, and inconvenient in divers respects, that there should be any private or particular flock, or flocks of Sheep kept also upon the Commons, especially between the South Creek by Mr. Walkers, and the North Highway that goes out at Thomas Burches Farm across the Neck, East and West—It is therefore ordered that no person or persons shall henceforth keep or cause to be kept, or fed upon the Commons or unfenced Lands within the precincts, or bounds aforesaid, other than such as shall be put into the hands or custody of the Town Shepherd, to be kept and fed with the general, or Town flock of Sheep, under the penalty of Impounding and paying three pence per Sheep for every one so found upon the Common, and the Shepherd, Hayward, or any other person may take the benefit of the penalty, as the Law in like Cases directs. This above order is confirmed by the Quarter Sessions July 12th, 1694. Attests, John Cary, Clerk."

At a meeting held March 23, 1696, it was voted,

"That the Town now and henceforward from time to time shall choose a Moderator, to propose and manage things in the several Town Meetings as the Town shall have occasion."

Until this time the magistrate holding the highest rank of those present had always presided at the meetings. Under this new rule Major Benjamin Church was the first to be chosen Moderator.

May 23, 1696. "Some of the Town of Bristol lately having had a sight of the Grand Deed, granted by the General Court of Plymouth, to the Proprietors and Inhabitants of said Town, that they shall be free of Impost and Excise, and finding that by the Law of this Province, we are debarred of that privilege, which by Charter we find we are entitled unto, The Town therefore, having duly considered the premises, have at a Town Meeting legally warned, chosen Major John Walley, Captain

Nathaniel Byfield and Mr. Ebenezer Brinton, to inform the General Court of the same, and to manage that affair on their behalf, that so the Town may have their Privileges."

It appears very strange that no attention should have been called to this subject before, but it must be remembered that very few printed copies of deeds were made in those days — indeed the laws of Plymouth Colony were for a long time preserved only in manuscript form. In the succeeding January a copy of the Deed was placed upon the town records.

Action was again taken upon this subject in 1698. The efforts of the committee appointed to bring the matter before the General Court had not been sufficient to prevent further imposts, but the town was determined to maintain its rights, and voted that two persons should be chosen each year "to maintain and defend all the rights and privileges granted in the Deed." They were empowered to sue, arrest and implead "any person, or persons, who shall upon any pretence whatsoever, trespass upon, molest or disturb any of the Inhabitants of said Town in the lawful use or improvement of any of the aforesaid privileges." This determined action had its effect, for in 1703 the town was desired by Governor Dudley to appoint men who should specially present its cause to the Governor and Council. For this purpose John Saffin, Esq., and Nathaniel Blagrove, Gentleman, were chosen. (The hand of Saffin is clearly visible in the whole matter.) The Governor and Council, having heard the arguments of Saffin and Blagrove, decided that the town was no longer entitled to exemption from imposts, excises and duties, as it had become a part of the Province of Massachusetts. In this opinion the House of Deputies did not concur, the cause of Bristol being ably presented by its two attorneys, and by John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, and Timothy Clarke of Boston. The question was finally settled by a decision of the Council, recorded a few days afterward: "The former part of the clause of privilege is expired and determined, being to continue only during that Government; the latter part, about the clearing of ships and entering ships, was, and is, contrary to divers Acts of Parliament." Aug. 27, 1703, a vote was

passed by the town, thanking the three men above named, “for their services to the Town in asserting the privileges which belonged to it.”

March 6, 1697. “Whereas Major John Walley and divers other Gentlemen, concerned in the settlement of Mount Hope (alias Bristol), did bind and oblige themselves by Certain Articles, the one to the other to do, perform and accomplish certain particular things in said Articles contained, that might be of use and benefit to the Inhabitants that should settle in said Town of Bristol. And whereas a good Gristmill was one thing promised in said Articles, and proposed as an encouragement by the Gentlemen to Inhabitants that should come in and settle in said Town, as a considerable privilege and advantage, the want of which hath been greatly prejudicial to the Inhabitants that come to settle in said Town &c

“Therefore, we the Inhabitants of Bristol aforesaid, being legally warned and met together the Sixth day of March 1697, do unanimously vote and agree, that there be three men chosen as a Committee for and in behalf of the Town, to treat with the said Major Walley, and to make, or to accept of such reasonable propositions as shall be made for the recovery of our privileges in that respect, or by any other lawful way and means for the procuring of said privileges — and to prosecute the same to effect, for us the Inhabitants of Bristol, who shall be ready to give reasonable consideration for their care and trouble.

	MR. JOHN SAFFIN
The persons chosen as a Committee are	MR. NATH ^l BLAGROVE
	CAPTAIN SAM ^l GALLUP”

The inhabitants without doubt had grounds for complaint in this matter. The grist-mill, built by Mr. Walley some years before, was at this time in such a dilapidated condition as to be almost useless, and the highway leading to it had been practically closed. But it is quite possible that Mr. Walley also had causes for complaint against the town. Certain it is that Mr. Saffin's undisguised animosity to Walley and Byfield greatly prejudiced the arbitrators against him when judicial action was finally had in the matter. Perhaps it injured the cause which he represented, for the final issue was favorable to Mr. Walley.

From the very earliest days the records are full of orders like the three following:—

March 20, 1705. “Voted, that no Geese shall henceforth go upon the Commons, Streets, Lanes, or Highways within this Town.”

“Voted, that no Horse, nor Horse kind, shall go on the Common without being Fettered all the year, this Vote to begin on the first of April next.”

March 5, 1707. “Voted, that no Swine of any sort after the tenth of April next, shall be or Run at large on the Commons, or Highways within this Town of Bristol, upon the penalty of paying twelve pence per head for every Swine that shall be found and taken up, for the first year, and two shillings per head for the future, to be paid by the owner of such Swine to any person that shall so take them up, or Impound them.”

March 5, 1707. “Voted for the encouragement of Col. Byfield, his building a Mill, or Mills, in Bristol, for the grinding of all sorts of Grain, for the Towns use, that the said Mill, or Mills shall be Rate free to all or any publick Taxes, during the time of their being serviceable to the Town in that way: provided also that the said Mill, or Mills, be set up and finished within the space of three years, and upon or near the Pond, near to the House of Mr. Belarmy Bosworth in Bristol aforesaid.”

“Voted, that the Windmill now belonging to and in the possession of Mr. Thomas Walker in Bristol afores'd shall be forever Rate free to any publick Tax, so long as it shall remain a Corn Mill.”

Mr. Byfield had profited by his experience in the quarrel with Judge Saffin, as witness the following : —

March 18, 1709. “Whereas Col. Byfield having formerly proposed the building of a Mill, or Mills, at or upon a certain Creek, near Belarmy Bosworth, at the same time the Town did Vote the s'd Mills to be free from all public Rates, provided they were built within the space of three years next following, and be serviceable for the Towns use and benefit — It was now declared (at this Town Meeting, that the said Mills were built) by the s'd Col. Byfield, and desired that a minute thereof might be made and entered in the Town Book, which by the Town was allowed, and ordered accordingly.”

March 22, 1708. “Voted that every Enlisted Soldier within this Town shall be obliged to bring in to the Clerk of the Town twelve black birds heads by the tenth of June next, under the penalty of paying one shilling for the use of the Town and every person that shall (over and above his proportion) bring in any black birds heads, shall receive twelve pence for every Dozen that shall be so brought in to the Clerk of the Town, who is desired to keep an account thereof ; provided this order continue in force this year only and no longer.

“Voted that every person who shall kill any Foxes, old or young, shall (for their encouragement therein) receive out of the Town Treasury, for every Old Fox twelve pence, and for every Young Fox, six pence.”

March 17, 1709. “Voted, that the order about black birds and foxes be revived and continued for one year more, with this addition, that the time for the bringing in of the s'd black birds shall be the last of

June, and that the same order shall extend to the killing of blew Jawes, and that every Crow killed shall be 3d, if entered with the Clerk, and that 12d shall be abated in the penalty of not bringing in a Dozen of black birds by the time, which if any shall wholly omit or refuse to do, the penalty, one shilling, shall be by the Assessors added to his Town Rate."

March 10, 1710. "The order about foxes, black birds &c.. voted to be continued another year."

In 1711 the order was continued for another year.

March 10, 1710. "Whereas it was voted in the General Town Meeting in March, three years past, as an encouragement to Colonel Nathaniel Byfield to build one or more mills on his farm at Poppasquash, near the Town. That the said mills should be forever free from being valued in or to any rate or tax to the Province, Town or County, and the said Byfield, having built and finished two tide mills for grinding corn which do very well, but the tides are so small that they fall short of supplying the Town with Meal, which hath put the said Col. Byfield upon building a Wind-mill near the same Water-mill, and for his encouragement to proceed in so good a work, It is Voted, That all the Grist mills built or to be built by the said Byfield upon the end of his farm next the Town known by the name of Poppasquash shall be forever free from paying to any Rate or Tax whatsoever."

March 12, 1711. "John Liscomb chosen to ring the Bell and sweep the Meeting house and also to look after the Boys, to prevent their playing in time of Publick Worship on the Lord's day.

The first birth recorded in the town records was that of Nathaniel, son of Richard and Joyce Smith, May 17, 1681, but this first child of Bristol parents was born upon the Island of Rhode Island, whither the mother had gone to obtain more comfortable quarters and better attendance, Bristol being at the time little more than a logging camp. "1681, Hope, the son of John Corps and of Deliverance his wife, was born November 8th, being the first English child born in this town." The first recorded marriage was that of William Corbet and Elener Batrop, Sept. 19, 1683, Captain Church being the officiating magistrate. "Benjamin Twing was drowned out of a canoe" Jan. 14, 1680-81, "in going from hence to Rhode Island and was not found,"—the first death; and March 25, 1682, "was buried the wife of Caleb Lambert and her child, she dying in childbed." She was buried in the cemetery east of the Common, the first interment after the settlement of the town.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FIRST CHURCH.

1680-1718.

AT the first meeting for the transaction of public business held after the organization of the town, it was voted that £40 should be rated towards building a house for the minister. In the first book of the town records, covering the period from the date of its organization to December, 1718, one hundred and ten of the votes passed related to the meeting-house or the minister. At first, religious questions were settled in town-meeting by the whole body of the citizens, without any preliminary action by the church; at last, meetings were called "For to have the Town's Concurrence with the Church's choice of a Minister."

In the year 1680, just after the Deed had been granted, but before the settlement of the Mount Hope Lands had been fairly begun, Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge* was secured as the

* Benjamin Woodbridge was a son of the Rev. John Woodbridge, the first pastor of the first church at Andover, Mass. His mother was the daughter of the Hon. Thomas Dudley. He was educated at Harvard College, but does not appear to have graduated from that institution, as his name is not given in the Triennial Catalogue. His two brothers, John and Timothy, were graduates of Harvard, and were also ministers. Mr. Woodbridge was ordained over the "Presbyterian Party," in Winsor, Conn., March 18, 1670, and after a ministry of about ten years, came to Bristol. Shortly after his withdrawal from this town, he was settled in Kittery, Maine.

"In 1694, he resided in Portsmouth, N. H. In 1698, he was living in Charlestown, Mass., and was employed by the town of Medford to preach for six months, provision being made for conveyance from his home to Medford every Saturday, and return every Monday. His preaching was so generally acceptable that movements were made to give him a call, but matters were not hastened, and, at length, difficulties arose which prevented his settlement. He was, however, anxious to settle,

first minister. Mr. Woodbridge moved with his family to the little town at an early date, and continued to reside in Bristol as its minister for about six years. During his residence the first meeting-house was built, but no church was organized. The first religious services were held in the house of Deacon Nathaniel Bosworth. (See page 103.) Afterward, and until the completion of the meeting-house, public worship was conducted in the town house of Nathaniel Byfield, and rooms for Mr. Woodbridge and his family were secured in the same building.* At first no salary was guaranteed to the minister, but his house-rent and fuel were provided for by the town, and various "Rates," adapted to the pecuniary ability of the people and the apparent needs of his family, were imposed from time to time. The question of salary was the cause of much dissension, and eventually caused the withdrawal of Mr. Woodbridge from the town.

"Nov. 29th, 1684, it was voted that Mr. Woodbridge's salary for this year be made up to Eighty pounds as Money,—and for the next year to be made up Ninety pounds as Money,—and for the year 1686 to be made up as a Hundred pounds as Money, and the same for each year to be yearly made up, discounting of each year so much as shall be contributed by strangers; and the Hundred per annum to continue until the time that, by agreement of the Court of Plymouth, the Town is to pay toward the Colony charge, and then to come to such further settlement with Mr. Woodbridge as may be according to the ability of the

and persisted in acting as the town's minister, contrary to the advice of a council of clergymen and elders from Boston, and in spite of votes of the town, in 1704, 'that what they had done about Mr. W.'s settlement be null and void,' and in 1705, 'that they would not proceed to settle Mr. W. as their minister.' With a few earnest friends he attempted to gather a church 'contrary to the advice of the Elders in that neighborhood, without advice or respect of the inhabitants of the town, and without the countenance and concurrence of the neighboring churches.' This highly irregular attempt was met by an earnest protest from the town. Appeals were then made to the General Sessions of the Peace, at Charlestown, and to Governor Dudley and his Council, both of which were decided adversely to the claims and course of Mr. Woodbridge. Finally the case was referred to a council of churches, who censured both parties, and advised the quiet withdrawal of Mr. W. The advice was not followed, however, and Mr. Woodbridge continued to preach until his death, Jan. 15, 1710, after a residence of nearly ten years, aged 65 years; and on the same day, with commendable promptitude and just liberality, the town voted £10 to defray the expenses of his funeral,—an act which proves that they would not let the sun go down upon their animosity."—*From Brooks' History of Medford, quoted in Rev. Mr. Lane's Manual of First Church in Bristol.*

* See page 107.

Town, whether it be more or less, and for the raising of the sum yearly for Mr. Woodbridge, it is to be by contribution, if what they contribute be not less than their proportion according to such rules as are hereafter set down, and such as contribute short, or not at all, to be Rated by the Selectmen, and gathered by the Constable Each year."

This vote caused much bitter discussion, and on the 9th of December was made null and void, and the following proposal of Mr. Woodbridge was adopted:—

"To the Inhabitants of the Town of Bristol: Understanding there hath been some difference and disturbance among you respecting my maintenance, in order to your satisfaction and more comfortable uniting in that affair and that it may be always settled in a peaceable way, I do propose that from the twenty-fifth day of April next, and so onward during my continuance, I will take up with a free and weekly Contribution, Provided, if it doth not amount to sixty pounds per annum, the Town forthwith to make it up and if ever it come to above an hundred per annum the overplus to be at their dispose, and this, notwithstanding my former agreement by me, or Vote by yourselves shall wholly answer my expectations from the Town.

December 4th, 1684.

BENJ: WOODBRIDGE."

At the same meeting it was also

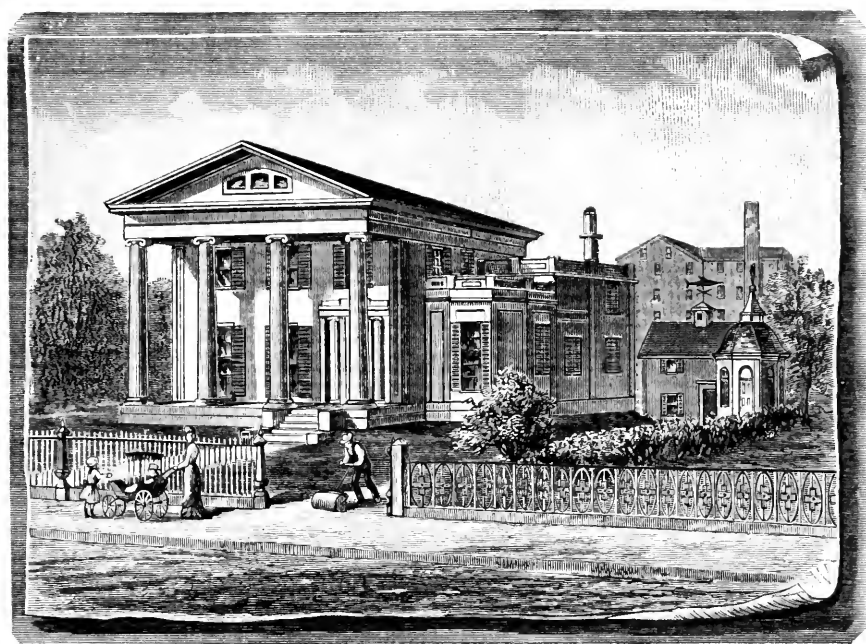
"Agreed that if any Inhabitant shall altogether neglect or be very remiss, or give very inconsiderable according to their Estate, or fails to the Ministers maintenance, it shall be at the liberty of the Raters, with the advice and consent of the Select Men or major part, to Rate such persons to other Town Charges according to their discretion."

Mr. Woodbridge was evidently anxious to effect a permanent settlement, but while a large portion of the inhabitants had been glad to avail themselves of his services for a time, it is plain that after they had enjoyed his ministration for a year or two the idea of settling him as their pastor had become distasteful to the leading men of the place. He seems to have been a fairly acceptable preacher, but was most indiscreet in temporal affairs, giving his opponents many opportunities to censure him for unwise and inconsiderate conduct. The subject was finally brought before the town, May 17, 1686. "It was propounded whether any persons were against Mr. Woodbridge, his return again hither, and to settle with us as our Minister." Eleven men voted against his settle-

ment; between twenty and thirty votes were given in his favor. Many of the votes cast for him were given by men who were known to be opposed to his settlement, but who were yet unwilling to seem to vote for his dismissal.

Even after this strong expression of opinion, Mr. Woodbridge was not wise enough to withdraw from the contest. On the 28th of June, 1686, John Walley, Nathaniel Byfield, Nathaniel Reynolds, Nathaniel Bosworth, John Cary, and Hugh Woodbury, all leading men of the town, "for themselves and in behalf of sundry others," united in a letter to the Rev. Increase Mather, and the church in Boston, asking that a council to consider the whole matter might be called for the third Wednesday of July. It is probable that this decided action convinced Mr. Woodbridge of the hopelessness of his cause, and that it was followed by his withdrawal, for there is no record to show that the council was ever held.

Oct. 24, 1683, at a meeting of the town, £250 were ordered to be raised to defray the expense of building a meeting-house, and John Walley, Nathaniel Byfield, Benjamin Church, John Cary, and John Rogers were appointed a committee to superintend its erection. In the succeeding year the house was built on the spot where the Court House now stands. No records have been preserved of its exact dimensions. Various writers have described it as spacious and well constructed, square in form, with double galleries, one above the other. It was clapboarded inside and out; its cap-roof was surmounted in the centre by a bell tower, within which, in 1692, was hung the bell which Mr. Oliver, some years before, had presented for the use of the town. The bell-rope hung directly down from the belfry to the centre of the church, and rendered Goody Corps a very conspicuous person, when, after the death of her husband, the sexton, "she used to ring the people to church for three pounds a year, as her lamented husband had done ere he died." Over the preacher's head was a dormer window (the records speak of it as "the Dorman or Luthorn window"), and on each of the four sides were



Residence of Capt. John Collins.

double rows of windows, so the building was well lighted. The money appropriated by the town did not suffice to finish the interior of the meeting-house, and so by vote of the citizens, various individuals were permitted to construct pews upon the floor at their own expense. This license, in time, caused much trouble, as men did not always consult the public convenience when they selected a place for a pew, and many votes relating to the subject appear upon the town records. The pews were usually square, with oaken doors,* "through the rounds of which the children used to peep at each other, when the people rose for prayer and praise." Many years elapsed before the floor of the building was entirely covered with pews, but the large galleries always af-

* The door of the pastor's pew is still preserved as a precious relic of the past, in the Congregational church, on High Street.

forded ample seating room. Separate galleries were provided for the women,—our modern method of seating the worshipers in church would have appeared most unseemly to our rigidly decorous ancestors. After a hundred years of service, some of the rafters of the old meeting-house were transferred to the second house of worship, when the first building was pulled down, and venturesome enthusiasts may still inspect them in the roof of the present town hall. The timber for the building was cut from the adjacent common. Tradition says that a boy sent from the house of Jabez Howland on Hope Street (Capt. John Collins' house stands next south of the lot on which the house stood), with the dinner for some of the workmen, failed to make his appearance at the expected time, whereupon work was suspended, and after much search he was found wandering bewildered in the dense forest not far from Mr. Howland's house.

When Mr. Woodbridge withdrew, Bristol had become the most important and flourishing town in the Plymouth Colony, and the necessity for sending thither some man of commanding ability, to heal the wounds caused by the unwise conduct of the late minister, and to build up a strong church in the rising town, was apparent to all. The Rev. Samuel Lee, an English dissenting clergyman, esteemed a man of profound learning and remarkable eloquence, had just landed in Boston, and to him the eyes of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay turned as to the man most fitted for the place. At the suggestion of friends in Boston, Mr. Lee visited Bristol, and was received with great enthusiasm by its inhabitants. At a town-meeting held Nov. 9, 1686, it was

“Voted and agreed, by a full vote and unanimous Consent, to call the Rev. Samuel Lee to the work of the Ministry in this Town, which was accordingly done by the whole that were present at the Town Meeting, waiting on him at Mr. Byfield's, where one appointed manifested their invitation to him and he took it into consideration.”

The town voted £60 per year for his salary, and £50 towards building him a house. He accepted the call, and began his labors April 10, 1687.

On the 3d of May, 1687, the church was organized in due form, by the mutual consent and agreement of the eight men whose names follow. At its organization, and for many years afterward, it was known as "The Church of Christ in Bristol." Nathaniel Bosworth and John Cary were the first deacons. The original members were Maj. John Walley, Capt. Nathaniel Byfield, Capt. Benjamin Church, Nathaniel Reynolds, John Cary, Hugh Woodbury, Goodman Throop, and Nathaniel Bosworth.

Samuel Lee was the son of Samuel Lee, a wealthy citizen of London, and was born in 1625. From his boyhood he manifested a great fondness for books, and the ample means of his father enabled him to gratify his literary tastes to their fullest extent. He was educated at the famous St. Paul's School, and at Wadham College, Oxford. He took the degree of Master of Arts at Wadham in 1648, and was soon after a Fellow of the same college. In 1656, he was made a Proctor in the University of Oxford. For several years he was the minister of an Independent church at Newington Green, near Bishopsgate, London. It is said that he was offered a living in the Established Church, which he rejected on account of his strong sympathy with the Non-Conformists. In 1686, in order that he might more freely exercise his office in the ministry in accordance with his own sense of duty, he emigrated to New England, arriving at Boston in June of that year.

Very soon after his settlement in Bristol, Mr. Lee began to build his house. He had inherited all of his father's large estate, and probably possessed greater wealth than any other citizen of the town. The house which he erected was built in the old English style, and was one of the finest mansions in New England, at the time of its completion. It stood on the site of the present store-house of the Usher Brothers, a little back from Thames Street, on the east side. It was two stories high, with a gambrel roof: it had also a "lean-to." A very wide staircase, with steps which were only four inches high, was one of the principal features of the house. In the early part of the present century, this house was always spoken of

as "The Old Bay State," but why this name was given to it cannot now be ascertained. In its last years, this home of the first pastor was used as a sailor boarding-house. It was torn down more than sixty years ago, and the only relic of it now remaining, is a small pane of glass in the possession of Mrs. Robert Rogers, on which is inscribed the name of Martha Finney.*

Mr. Lee's stay in Bristol was brief. Amid the privations and the discomforts of a life in rude New England, he sighed for the ease and scholarly retirement which had fallen to his lot in his native land. Upon the accession of King William, who was supposed to favor greater privileges for the Dissenters, he determined to return to England. Accordingly, in 1691, he left his post in Bristol, and with his family embarked at Boston on the ship "Dolphin." After a stormy voyage, the vessel was captured by a French privateer, near the coast of Ireland, and its passengers were carried into St. Maloes, in France. His family were allowed to proceed thence to London, but he was detained a prisoner. The hardships of a long voyage in the winter season, disappointment, anxiety, and confinement, combined to bring on a violent attack of the prison fever, from the effects of which he died in prison, in December, 1691. As a heretic, he was buried outside the walls of the town.

Of Mr. Lee, nearly all his contemporaries speak in terms of the highest commendation. Cotton Mather calls him "the light of both Englands." President Stiles says, "He was the light and glory of the Church in Bristol, and one of the most learned divines in Christendom." "Allen" says, "He spoke Latin with elegance, was a master of Physic and Chemistry, and well versed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences." His published works are contained in some dozen volumes.†

* The house was for many years the home of Jeremiah Finney and his son Josiah, and all the children of the latter were born in it. Martha Finney and her sister, the wife of the late Mr. William DeWolf, in their youth occupied the study in which Mr. Lee had thought and written. The first two of Mr. DeWolf's children were also born in it.

† At one time Mr. Lee was much interested in the study of Astrology, and collected a hundred or more volumes upon the subject. These he afterward burned, having become convinced of the dangerous tendencies of the science.

The ministry of Mr. Lee, though brief, was yet very successful; the church was greatly strengthened, and harmony was restored between its members. For four years after his departure, the town was without any settled pastor, the pulpit being supplied by various ministers, at fifteen shillings per week. In July, 1693, a call was extended to the Rev. John Sparhawk.* A salary of £60 per annum was offered him, with £5 a year additional for fire-wood (£10 for fire-wood as soon as he should have a family), and the improvement of the ministry lands. The call was accepted, and on the 6th of

The sermons of this learned divine, which were so highly praised at the beginning of the last century, would hardly receive the same commendation if pronounced to-day from a modern pulpit. Their extravagant style and strained metaphors would be somewhat distasteful to the practical minds of the nineteenth century. The following specimen is taken from "The Joy of Faith":—

"Let the world rage in storms of contradiction, and like him in Laertius, affirm snow to be black, or assert the sun shines not when I see it, or a cordial comforts not when I feel it, or that a troubled conscience is but a melancholy fancy, when the terrors of the Lord drink up the spirits of men. These should be sent to Anticyra to purge with Hellebor for madness. Pray what energy or power can be in a printed paper, in the reading of a chapter wherewith Austin and Junius were converted from sin to God, or what powerful charm in hearing a mean Preacher, perhaps none of the Learnedest, like the blessed Fishermen of Galilee, to change the heart: if so many proud, haughty, and rebellious sinners who of direful persecutors have sometimes turned tender cherishers and protectors of the Church of God! were it not for the fire of the Word of the Lord of Hosts, that melts the stone of the heart, and the hammer of that Word that breaks the sturdy Zauzummins all to powder: inasmuch that bitter scoffers have been changed into witty Tertullians and turned their satires into panegyrics. What can that be imagined to be that works so strange effects upon whole nations from the East to the Western Indies, whitened the Blackmoors, civilized the hearts of Scythians more ragged and brutish than the Rocks and Hyrcanian Tygers that gave them suck, and beautified the barbarously painted Britains far beyond the oratory of the Gaules. It could be no other power than the awful dread of the Divine Majesty, and the melting sweetness of his Mercy concomitant with his heavenly Word."

The authorship of this address to King William, written for the Plymouth Government, is ascribed to him:—

"We humbly beg your Excellent Majesty, that you would indulge this first plantation of our dear Lord in New England's Plymouth, within the garden of your royal bosom, to protect and amplify our privileges, according as your sagacious wisdom and tender love may judge mete, upon our further addresses to your Majesty, in any further particular requests, and we shall most devoutly and humbly supplicate the great God of Heaven, to give your Majesty the grand march of honor, to be successful in all what your Majesty hath been pleased to design to undertake for the reformed cause throughout the world, that under Christ, you may not only, like another Augustus, dilate your Empire to the Eastern, but that both the Indies may be enriched with such diamonds and spices, that are the ornaments of the Celestial Jerusalem, under your prosperous and heaven directed conduct."

* Mr. Sparhawk was born in 1672, and graduated from Harvard in the class of 1689. No record of his ancestry has been preserved.

October Mr. Sparhawk began his labors in the town. After a year's trial the following vote was passed, and on the 12th of June, 1695, he was installed as the second pastor of the church: —

“ We the Inhabitants of the Town of Bristol, being met together this 19th day of September, 1694, do for the maintaining of the Public Worship of God amongst us, and for the Love and Honor we bear to the Rev'd Mr. John Sparhawk, and hopes of speedy settlement by him, and for the putting a full and final stop to any further discourse relating to Strangers contribution as an overplush to the Minister (here with us) do agree upon the consideration above said, and do hereby promise, to pay to the said Mr. Sparhawk by Weekly Contribution or other ways within the year, the sum of seventy pounds per annum whilst he remains a single man, and eighty pounds by the year, when he comes to keep a Family, and this we promise during his continuance in the Work of the Ministry with us.”

For almost twenty-three years Mr. Sparhawk served the church in Bristol as its pastor. He did not possess the deep learning of his predecessor, but he was yet an excellent preacher, conscientious, hard-working, and entirely devoted to the spiritual interests of his flock. The Rev. Mr. Burt, twenty years after his death, testified that his name still “remained exceedingly dear and precious to his people.” He died on the 29th of April, 1718, and was buried upon the Common, in the cemetery close by the church. His tombstone has since been placed upon the green, just outside the southern wall of the present church edifice.

CHAPTER XX.

THE McSPARRAN DIFFICULTY.

MR. SPARHAWK died in the happy consciousness that his work in Bristol had been most blessed. As a result of his faithful and untiring labors, a strong congregation had been gathered together. No dissensions for many years had disturbed its harmony, and a prosperous future seemed to await the church. Could he have known that a bitter controversy was to divide the town, almost before the turf was green upon his grave, that for years a fierce discussion was to be carried on, and that a quarter of a century afterwards an angry fire would gleam in the eyes of men, whenever the name of the man who was called to be his successor was spoken of, how much less tranquil would have been the last moments of the dying pastor !

In June, 1718, Mr. James McSparran, a young man born in Ireland,* of Scotch parents, bearing the credentials of a licentiate of the Presbytery in Scotland, landed in the chief town of New England. Shortly after his arrival in Boston he came to Bristol to visit a relative, the Widow Pampelion,† who lived at the corner of State and Hope streets. The church had, a short time before, extended a call to Mr. Samuel Checkley, of Boston, and had just received a letter from him declining to become its pastor. The pulpit was vacant, and the young Irishman was invited to preach in the

* At Dungiven, County of Derry.

† The name is sometimes spelled Papilio and Papillion upon the Town Records. The family was probably of Huguenot origin.

meeting-house on the Sunday after he reached Bristol. Mr. McSparran possessed, in an unusual degree, the remarkable eloquence with which so many of the children of Ireland have been endowed, and his wonderful oratory made such a deep impression upon the minds of his hearers, that at a church-meeting held on the 16th of December, 1718, he was invited to settle in the town as its pastor. On the 22d of December the town concurred in the church's choice, seventy-three votes being cast for Mr. McSparran, and but three against him. A salary of £100 per annum was voted him, and £100 was voted toward the expenses of his settlement. The town had increased in wealth and population, and no objection was raised against the payment of this salary, which was so much larger than that which Mr. Sparhawk had received.

"The choice of this McSparran," says the Rev. Mr. Burt, "opened the door to all manner of confusion and disorder. Several scandalous immoralities were soon after reported of him. Dr. Mather, of Boston, and other ministers wrote to the church, by no means to settle him. But the affections of many towards him for his excellent oratory rendered them slow to believe anything to his disadvantage, whilst others were as implacably set against him. Two days were set apart for his ordination, but the ministers sent for would not lay hands on such a man to separate him to the work of the Ministry. But he, being fond of a settlement, and hoping to prevail with the church, offered to submit to lay ordination."

No record has been preserved of the charges made against Mr. McSparran. It must be borne in mind that he had scarcely been six months in the country when Dr. Mather wrote to the church in Bristol concerning him, and that his conduct in Bristol had been above reproach. Nothing but "unguarded conversation" was ever charged against his life in this town. The fact that these charges were brought forward in the first instance by the Rev. Mr. Mather, gives us good ground for believing that they were grossly exaggerated. Perhaps the high-spirited young Irishman had declined to yield to the imperious will of the all-powerful Doctor. The history of Mas-

sachusetts shows that Mr. Mather was, throughout his whole life, a most bitter partisan, and that he often allowed personal prejudices to warp his judgment and influence his actions. It is possible that there were some grounds for the accusations, and the ready acknowledgment by Mr. McSparran of "unguarded conversation," shows that he was not always temperate in his efforts to refute the charges. The air which he had breathed in his infancy may have inclined him to rush with unthinking vehemence into the controversies which awaited him on his arrival in America, but a long and useful and blameless life in the "Narragansett Country," shows that his bitter experiences in Bristol had acted like a refiner's fire in burning away the imperfections which clouded his early career. His humble deportment under most distressing circumstances, and his earnest desire to be reconciled to the church, won the hearts of all his congregation, and made them eager to forget the shameful reports which had been spread.

The charges were thoroughly investigated, committees being sent to the towns in which the alleged misconduct was said to have been committed. The results were very favorable to Mr. McSparran, and on the 25th of May, 1719, this minute was adopted by the town:—

"The accounts lately received from Barnstable and Plymouth in favor of the Reverend Mr. James McSparran, being read in public Town Meeting, together with our own experience of his good conversation during his abode in this Town, and his humble Christian deportment under the present afflictive Providence, with his ready acknowledgment of his unguarded conversation in times past, with his earnest desire under his hand which hath been now read, to be reconciled to the Church of Christ, demand our Christian compassion in the exercise of that fervent charity which covers the multitude of sins. We do in duty, as well as affection, declare our hearty forgiveness of all his past miscarriages and that we do receive him as our Brother in the Lord, humbly depending upon the boundless mercy and compassion of our most gracious God through the merits of our blessed

Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, for pardon and acceptance. We most earnestly desire that all Christian People referring to this our dear and Rev^d Brother, Mr. James McSparran, would put on charity which is the bond of perfectness and all these scandalous reports that have been spread abroad will, as they ought, be buried in oblivion."

"The above writing being distinctly read in the Town Meeting, and people being asked whether they had any objection against it or any part of it, it was unanimously voted in the affirmative as the mind of the Town, no one objecting after the vote was called, except Col. Paine.

Attest: SAMUEL HOWLAND, *Town Clerk.*"

This action appears to have given universal satisfaction; harmony seemed completely restored, and arrangements were made to call a council for Mr. McSparran's ordination on the 22d of October. But his enemies outside the town were by no means inclined to let the matter drop. Before the appointed day came, a report that his credentials were fraudulent was spread abroad, and the controversy was renewed with greater bitterness. Mr. McSparran at once proposed: First, To withdraw entirely from the town, if the church would grant him an honorable dismission, "with such testimonials as the law of love and duty will suggest his due or not;" or, Second, To go to Ireland to procure a confirmation of the truth of his credentials, and to return the following June to resume his work, if the testimonials should be satisfactory. Oct. 13, 1719, the church voted his dismission, "but was unwilling to be under a promise of staying for his return." This action having been submitted to the town for concurrence, the town voted not to concur, and adopted instead this vote: "Voted that Leave is given by the Town to Mr. James McSparran, our present Minister, to take a voyage to Ireland, in order to procure a confirmation of his credentials, the truth of which being by some questioned; and that he return to us again sometime in June next ensuing, and proceed in the work of the Ministry

with us, if he procure the confirmation of the aforesaid credentials."

On the 20th of June the town had heard nothing from the absent minister, and voted to await his return until the following September, but Mr. McSparran never came back to the Congregational Church. Either upon the long voyage or while he was in England, a change came over his Ecclesiastical views (perhaps the treatment which he had received at the hands of the Massachusetts ministers may have led him to question the truth of the religious dogmas which they held): on the 21st of August, 1720, he was admitted to Deacon's Orders in the Church of England by the Bishop of London; on the 25th of September was advanced to the Priesthood by the Archbishop of Canterbury; on the 23d of October was commissioned a missionary for the Province of New England, and shortly after re-crossed the Atlantic, as the missionary of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," "to Narragansett in New England, who is to officiate as opportunity shall offer at Bristol, Free-town, Swansey, and Little Compton, where there are many people, members of the Church of England, destitute of a Minister." *

The result of this action of Mr. McSparran was the formation of a parish of the Church of England in this town. The people who had clung to him so closely in his time of trial were naturally influenced by his subsequent conduct. The establishment of St. Michael's Church through his instrumentality of course made his opponents still more bitter against him, and the peculiar circumstances of the case made the relations between the Congregationalists and

* Mr. McSparran was educated at the University of Glasgow, and was made a Master of Arts by that institution in 1709. In 1731 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology by the University of Oxford. He was the missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and Rector of St. Paul's Church, Narragansett, from 1721 until his death, in 1757. In 1868, by authority of the Diocese of Rhode Island, a monument was erected to his memory, in the old churchyard at North Kingstown. In the Cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society, at Providence, excellent portraits of him and of his wife are still preserved.

the Episcopalians more unpleasant than they otherwise would have been. Mr. Burt says of Nathaniel Cotton, the third pastor of the Congregational Church, who was ordained to the post in 1721, that he "went through a world of trouble with the Church party," and the town records contain many protests from the Church of England men, against what they deemed the unjust and intolerant actions of the Congregationalists. The influence of the greater liberality in regard to religious matters which prevailed in the neighboring State of Rhode Island, in time made itself felt, and caused both parties to be more moderate in their views and actions than were the inhabitants of the other towns of Massachusetts, and the annexation of the town to Rhode Island, a quarter of a century afterward, put a stop forever to religious intolerance.

CHAPTER XXI.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

*From the Founding of the Parish, in 1721, to the Death of the
Rev. John Usher, Jr., in 1804.*

THE first services of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this town were conducted by laymen, in the early part of the eighteenth century, in the house of Mr. William Walker. Mr. Walker's dwelling stood between High and Wood streets, a little north of the road which skirts the head of Walker's Cove.*

Among the early settlers there were, without doubt, some men who were strongly attached to the Church of England and her services, and the movements which finally resulted in the formation of St. Michael's Parish were probably begun several years before Mr. McSparran came to the town. The events which followed his coming made the establishment of the parish more easy, but did not by any means suggest it.

Sixteen years before the McSparran difficulties, Mr Keith, a missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, sent to ascertain the spiritual needs of the North American Colonies, had carried back to England a petition from the inhabitants of Swansey and parts adjoining, for the establishment of a Mission of the English Church in

* The stones of the old graveyard of the Walker family still remain, not far away from where the house once stood. The oldest grave is that of "John ye son of Thomas and Elizabeth Walker—who dyed May the 3d 1719, aged 34 years." On the stone at its foot is this inscription: "Hee was furst born of this race, and furst buried in this place" Thomas Walker, one of the first settlers, who died Aug. 7, 1724, in the seventieth year of his age, also lies in the same place.

that town : in this petition some of the inhabitants of Bristol had probably joined.

It is hardly probable that Mr. McSparran had much to do with the organization of the mission in this town. His letters show that he must have been present at some of the earlier meetings, and that the treatment which he received at the hands of many of his old congregation was such as to discourage him from further action. The records of the Propagation Society show that in the year 1720, letters had been received by the Bishop of London, from men prominent in Bristol, appealing for a Church of England minister, and promising to build a church. Before an answer to this appeal had been received, measures were taken to erect the building. Col. Henry Mackintosh gave the land and £200 in money, £100 were contributed from Boston, £100 also from Newport, and smaller sums came from other towns. Nearly £1,000 were raised in this place, which shows that much interest was felt and that many were concerned in the matter.

In the year 1721 the Rev. James Orem was sent over as the first minister, with a salary from the society of £60 per annum. He found the church building unfinished ; the exterior and the steeple were completed, but the floor was not laid and the walls were not plastered. The church was a handsome wooden building, sixty feet long and forty feet wide. It stood on the same lot on which stands the present church edifice. Such was the zeal of the congregation, that on the Saturday following his arrival a temporary floor was laid, benches and chairs were provided, and on the next day between two and three hundred people, not only from Bristol, but also from Swansey, Tiverton, and other neighboring towns, gathered for the service. The building was finished very shortly after, and Mr. Orem reported to the society in England that the inhabitants had expended over £1,500 upon it, and that the congregation which gathered each Sunday within its walls was very large, much interest being manifested in the church.

Mr. Orem's stay in Bristol was short. He was a man of much ability, of pleasing address, and well qualified for building up the parish. His success seems to have been much greater than he had anticipated, but the fierce passions which had been called into life by the McSparran controversy had by no means subsided, and the policy pursued by the leading religious body was not a liberal one. In the Narragansett Church Records this item appears: "In Bristol, New England, Feb 5 1722-3 were imprisoned twelve men of the Church of England, for refusing to pay towards the support of the Presbyterian teacher there, viz: Mr. Nathaniel Cotton. — Mr. McSparran being sent for to visit the gentlemen aforesaid in prison, and in Mr. Orem's absence, preached in Bristol Church, Feb 10th." Mr. Orem had gone to Boston to present the case to the governor of the Province, as the following extract from the *New England Courant* of Feb. 11, 1723, shows. (The *Courant* was the first paper issued by Benjamin Franklin): —

"Boston Feb 11. Last week the Reverend Mr. Orum, Minister of the Episcopal Church at Bristol, came from thence with a Petition from twelve of his hearers, (who are imprisoned for refusing to pay *Rates* to the Presbyterian Minister of Bristol) to the Lieut. Governor, who, with the advice of the Council, promised Mr. Orum to use his interest for their relief at the next meeting of the General Assembly, the men being imprisoned by Vertue of the Laws of the Province."

The Narragansett Records also show that at a meeting of the Vestry, April 4, 1723, a letter from Mr. McSparran to the Lord Bishop of London, "begging that he would espouse the cause of the Church of England, at Bristol, where the Dissenters have lately imprisoned twenty persons, and distrained upon the estates of several other churchmen for the payment of the rate to support their teacher, Mr. Nathaniel Cotton, was read and concurred in, and subscribed by all present." In the succeeding March, three gentlemen of Rehoboth were imprisoned at Bristol for refusing to con-

tribute towards the support of the Presbyterian minister in Rehoboth. Ineffectual protests of this nature continued to be made by the Church of England men, even until 1744, when a more liberal policy was adopted.

The fact that this contest was continued for so long a time, shows that it must from the first have been a very bitter one. Perhaps it was on this account that Mr. Orem chose so soon to sever his connection with this town. The letter which he wrote for the three Congregational ministers of Connecticut (the Rev. Dr. Cutler, President of Yale College, Rev. Daniel Brown, Tutor, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson), who had decided to take orders in the Church of England, and had gone to England for that purpose, shows that he had a very keen sense of the wrongs and indignities which had been heaped upon them by their late associates, and that he despised the narrow-minded bigotry which could descend to such persecutions. In a little more than a year after his coming to America, Mr. Orem was offered a chaplaincy on one of His Majesty's ships of war, stationed at New York. This he accepted, and went to live in a place much more suited to his tastes than was the quiet Massachusetts town. The Rev. Daniel Browne, whose name has lately been mentioned, was designated by the Propagation Society as his successor, but was stricken with small-pox a few days after his ordination in England, and died in a very short time.

In the year 1723 the Rev. John Usher was sent by the society as the second missionary to the struggling church. Mr. Usher was the son of Lieutenant-Governor Usher,* of New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1719, and had gone to England for his ordination. He was for a short time the missionary at St. George's, South Carolina, but almost all of his long and useful life was spent in this town. The rectorship of Mr. Usher was at

* "John Usher was a bookseller and stationer in Boston, a Colonel and Councillor. He was five years Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire from 1692, and was afterwards re-appointed in 1702."—*Allen's American Biographical Dictionary*.

once and always successful. He found the parish weak and feeble, and bitterly opposed by the dominant religious body. His careful attention built up a healthy church, upon foundations so strong that not even the mighty throes of the Revolution were able to destroy them, and his judicious conduct gradually



St. Michael's Church.

overcame the enmity with which he and his work were at first regarded.

A year after his arrival he reports forty-five families in his congregation (there were perhaps five hundred inhabitants in the town), and in the next year thirty communicants. The first *adult* baptism which he records* is that of Mehetabel Truck, an Indian woman; the first child baptized was his own son, John Usher, Oct. 6, 1723. This baptism was his first official act. He married John Linsey and Hannah Hoar, Nov. 28, 1723.

At the Easter Meeting in 1724, the first Vestry was elected. The vestrymen were Col. Henry Mackintosh, Maj. Ebenezer Brenton, Capt. Thomas Lawton, Capt. Samuel Little, Messrs. William Munro, William Walker, Jabez Howland, Henry Bragg, Obadiah Papillion, and Nathaniel Bosworth. Jabez Howland † and Nathaniel Bosworth were chosen wardens.

* The first baptism on the *Church Records* is that of Alice Woodale, adult, baptized by Mr. McSparran, in 1721.

† In front of the wooden church which was burned on the 5th of December, 1858, stood the old slate gravestone which had marked the resting-place of his

These were all prominent men in the town. Colonel Mackintosh was one of its wealthiest citizens; Major Brenton, Captain Little, and Jabez Howland were sent to represent the town at the General Court, and the names of the others frequently appear in the town records as holding offices of trust and importance.

In 1725 Colonel Mackintosh presented an additional piece of land to the church. He had at first given only the ground upon which to erect the building. The second donation made the lot eighty-six feet in length on King Street, and sixty-six feet in breadth on Hope Street.*

In 1728 a sum of money was raised for the purchase of a bell, and Mr. Nathaniel Kay, of Newport, was authorized to order it from England. The bell reached Newport in safety, and two men were sent from Bristol with a sloop, to transport it to its final destination. The purchase of the bell had been accomplished only after much labor, and considerable self-denial on the part of the little parish. The hearts of the men who were bringing it up the bay swelled with pride as they looked upon it, and they resolved to suspend it from the mast, that its rich tones might proclaim its arrival to the people who were so eagerly awaiting it. But the sledge hammer used to awaken its sleeping music, was wielded by the brawny arm of Thomas Waldron, a giant in size and strength; his strokes were given with vigor but not with discretion, and the bell was broken ere the echoes of its first note had died away. The circumstance seems to us a trifling one, but to the parish at that time, the disappointment was most bitter. The broken bell was shipped to England to be recast, and when

wife: "Ye body of Patience, ye wife of Jabez Howland, died Oct. ye 23, 1721, Aged 52, being ye first interred in St. Michael's churchyard." It bore this quaint but beautiful epitaph:—

"The Dame who takes her rest within this tomb,
Had Rachel's comely face, and Leah's fruitful womb;
Abigail's wisdom, Lydia's purer heart,
Martha's just care, and Mary's better part."

*The names of the cross streets varied at different periods in the town's history. Church Street was called at one time King Street, at another, Queen Street. This fact must be borne in mind in examining old deeds.

it came back to Bristol in the succeeding year, and was placed in the steeple, it proved to be one of the best in the country, and could be distinctly heard at Pawtuxet, twelve miles away.

There were two important questions agitated in the parish in the year 1730, which appear to have excited considerable interest; one was, whether the salary of Mr. Gallop, the principal singer, should be increased from thirty shillings, and the other, if he should sing without reading the first line; both of these weighty questions were submitted to the decision of the rector. In 1731 the society had so much increased that, for the accommodation of all its members, it became necessary to add galleries to the church, and the pews in them were readily sold. A singular vote was passed this year, which required the Rev. Mr. Usher to support all the widows of the church from what he received as his own salary, as small as it must have been." * (Mr. Usher received sixty pounds per annum from the Propagation Society. From the parish he received from eighty to a hundred and thirty or forty pounds each year, but the value of the colonial currency was very fluctuating.) In 1734 a steeple clock was added to the church by private subscription. In 1730 Mr. Usher reports to the Propagation Society: "I have had sundry negroes make application for baptism, that were able to render a very good account of the hope that was in them, and their practices were generally agreeable to the principles of the Christian religion. But I am not permitted to comply with their request and my own duty, being forbid by their masters, notwithstanding they have the Bishop of London's letter and the late Bishop of Asaph's sermon to that purpose, to which I have added my own endeavors, both from the pulpit and in private conversation, to persuade them to comply therewith." This report shows a somewhat strange state of popular feeling. How long it continued we do not know. In 1740 he reports the baptism of one adult negro, but does not state whether he was a slave or not. In 1746 he reports thirty negroes and Indians in his congregation.

* Updike's Narragansett Church.

In 1735 Nathaniel Kay, of Newport, His Majesty's Collector of Customs, besides a bequest of silver for communion purposes to each of the four churches in his district,* and a bequest of lands and money to the Newport Church, left also to St. Michael's Church the tract of land which is now known as the Point Farm,† the income from which was to be devoted to the instruction of "ten poor boys in Grammar and Mathematics," and to the support of the church ministry. (The teacher was, if possible, to be a clergyman, Episcopally ordained.) For the erection of a school-house he gave, besides, two hundred pounds in money. The church came into possession of this property in the following year, but it was not until 1744 that permission was obtained from the town to place the school-house upon the public lands. The building was erected upon Constitution Street, between Hope and High streets, in the middle of the street, as were most of the public buildings in those days, and was used until 1798 or thereabouts. (In 1800 it was voted by the vestry that the rector should sell the school bell.) The bequest of Mr. Kay has been, and still continues to be, a source of much income to the parish. A literal carrying out of its terms is no longer possible, by reason of the changes which have been made in the public school system of the town, but the spirit of the donation is still complied with. In 1800 the actual control of the farm passed out of the hands of the church, the property having been leased to "Jeremiah Ingraham, his heirs and assigns," for nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

Upon the establishment of this school, and for several years, the Church of England people protested, though ineffectually, against being taxed for the support of the town school. In 1744 the influence of the liberal religious sentiment of Rhode Island had been marked by a petition from the town to the General Court, that the two congregations of the place might

* Trinity Church, Newport; St. Paul's Church, Narragansett; King's (now St. John's) Church, Providence; and St. Michael's Church, Bristol.

† The Point Farm was for several years leased to the second John Usher. From his residence upon it the name of Usher's Cove came to be applied to the little bay which indents its eastern shore.

be allowed to impose a tax each, for the support of its own minister. It would seem that the town had the right to tax its citizens for such a purpose, but that no such power belonged to the churches. In January, 1746-47, Bristol became a part of Rhode Island, and consequently we find no further record of votes upon matters purely religious in the town-meetings. The school question, however, was not immediately settled, for in March, 1746-47, we find the following vigorous protest:—

“ *Mr. Moderator:*—

“ We, the underwritten, freeholders of the Town of Bristol, and Trustees of a school in Bristol aforesaid, founded and endowed by our late public benefactor Nathaniel Kay, Esq. deceased, for the benefit of the children of the Church of England in Bristol, and other members of the said Church beg leave to enter the following protest against a vote this day passed against the consent of us the Protestors notwithstanding what we have already offered to the contrary relating to the maintaining a free school in said town by a tax to be levied as well upon us, who have manifested our dissent in the most peaceable manner, as those who have promoted it and are the only persons to receive benefit thereby, and that for the following reasons, to wit;

“ 1^{ly}. We protest one and all against the whole and every part of said vote by reason it is an eneroachment upon the liberties and privileges granted to the members of the Colony of Rhode Island, by his late Majesty's Royal Charter, and ever since continued by his successors, and still indulged by his present Most Gracious Majesty, which privilege is confirmed to us by the good laws of the Colony wherein they guard against any one Society endeavoring for pre-eminence over other Societies.

“ 2^{ly}. Because there is no such instance of a Free School in the whole Colony, being thus supported.

“ 3^{ly}. Because this would not be equal, to oblige us to pay toward the support of a school we stand not in need of neither expect to reap benefit from, which reason in a special manner we presume will have its due weight with those gentlemen who formerly objected against a young gentleman* keeping the public school, though otherwise every way qualified, but only that he attended the church sometimes, when they would at the same time have received equal advantage with those of the Church.

“ 4^{ly}. Because we have already according to the Will of our late benefactor erected a school for the benefit of the children of the Church and though at present we are not so happy as to have a Master yet we have been and still are in pursuit of a gentleman of sober life and conversation that shall be well qualified to instruct the children in the

* Probably Mr. John Usher, Jr.

Grammar and Arithmetic and doubt not of succeeding very speedily; for these reasons we beg this our protest may be entered in behalf of ourselves and others, members of the Church of England in Bristol, reserving what we have further to object until you and we shall appear before those who are able and we doubt not are willing to do justice between man and man and will preserve us from being trampled upon and brow beaten upon any account whatever.

“Dated at Bristol, the 9th of March, 1746-7.

JOHN WALKER, } *Church Wardens.*
SIMEON MUNRO, }

THOS. LAWTON,	} <i>Vestrymen.”</i>
NATHL. BOSWORTH,	
NATHL. PEARSE,	
SIMEON POTTER,	
NATHL. MUNRO,	
WILLIAM PEARSE,	
WILLIAM MARTIN,	
WILLIAM COX,	
JOHN LINDSEY,	
WILLIAM HOAR,	}
BENNET MUNRO,	

To this protest, answer was made at the next town-meeting, April 15, 1747 : —

“Voted, That the true intent and meaning of the town vote made and passed at the last town meeting, relating to the raising of the sum of one hundred and seventy-three pounds, for the maintaining a free school in this town is that the Church of England people in this town shall be exempted from paying any part thereof saving such as send their children to the said school.”

At the spring meeting in 1749, the Episcopalians were again exempted, the assessors were ordered to impose a tax upon the other inhabitants, “as soon as the Gentlemen of the Church of England give a list of the people that attend that Church.”

A few years after, both ministers were, by vote of the town, exempted entirely from taxes. Religious questions no longer divided the people, and from this time until the outbreak of the Revolution, the relations of the two congregations seem to have been entirely harmonious. In 1751 Mr. John Usher, Jr., was employed to teach the town school.

In 1756 the church edifice was thoroughly repaired, and from this time until the death of the rector, the affairs of the church were fairly prosperous.* The population of the town was declining by reason of emigration, in the last years of Mr. Usher's life, but the church held its own. The venerable missionary had become a cripple, but still continued to preach twice every Sunday until his death. He died April 30, 1775, being then seventy-five years of age. For fifty-two years he had served as the rector of St. Michael's; in that time he had baptized 713 persons, 185 times he had performed the marriage ceremony, and 274 times he had officiated at funerals. The hand of death was mercifully laid upon him before the fierce tempest of the Revolution burst upon the church and town, seeming for a time entirely to efface the results of his half-century's work. He was buried beneath the chancel of the church where he had served so long and faithfully, and of which he was destined to be the last minister. The Rev. Mr. Doyle, of Cambridge, was, after his death, invited to officiate in the parish for the term of six months, but his health failed him, and he left before the period of his engagement had expired. In 1776 Dr. Henry Caner, who had been for thirty years the missionary in charge of King's Chapel, Boston, and who had been forced to leave his post by reason of his strong Tory principles, was appointed the missionary of the Propagation Society for this place, but the appointment was only an honorary one. Bristol was then no more suited for the residence of a Tory than was Boston, and it is hardly possible that Dr. Caner ever visited the town.

On the 5th of May, 1778, the church was burnt by a band of British soldiers from Rhode Island, under the command of Colonel Campbell. It was at the time a prevailing opinion that the soldiers had been informed that what appeared to be

*" In the year 1757, one of Mr. Usher's sons who had been preparing for the sacred ministry, took passage for England with the purpose of obtaining ordination. The same fate befell him, as, by a curious coincidence, had many years before overtaken one of the Congregationalist ministers of the town, the Rev. Dr. Lee. The ship in which he sailed was captured by a French fleet, and young Mr. Usher, some time later, died of disease in the French castle of Bayonne." — *Rev. George L. Locke's "Historical Discourse."*

tombs under the church were the powder magazines of the town, and that the building was a Dissenters' meeting-house. Some papers which have within a few months been discovered among the manuscripts of the late John Carter Brown, of Providence, add somewhat to our meagre stock of information upon the subject. The first is a petition to the English Society, sent after peace had been declared, asking for aid to rebuild the church: it is signed by the wardens and vestry of the parish. After mentioning the burning of the dwelling-houses, the paper goes on to say: "The Church of England had not been open for any purpose whatever, from the time of our Pastor's decease (excepting a few condoling sermons delivered there by the neighboring missionaries) till 't was broke open by the King's Troops and fire set to the Pulpit. If all the town had been reduced to ashes, our church was so situated, and the wind, tho' high, from that quarter that we should have saved her." The second is the letter accompanying the petition, from Mr. John Usher, Jr., to the secretary of the society, and is dated March 3, 1784. Mr. Usher says that he has registered a catalogue of the society's books,* and lodged them in the hands of the eldest church warden, to await the pleasure of the society. Respecting the burning, he says: "A member of the church acquainted the second in command under Colonel Campbell in that excursion, that the church had not been open since the commencement of the war, for any purpose whatever, and that the members of that church were friends to Government, upon which the Officer ran to the Church Door, but 't was too late, the Pulpit was all on fire. Two minutes sooner would have saved the Church."

From the burning of the church until the close of the war the intensity of bitterness with which everything English was regarded, rendered it entirely impossible for the Church of England congregation to hold any services in the town; but

* In 1724 a small library of standard theological works had been sent over by the Propagation Society, for the use of its missionary in Bristol. Some of these volumes are still in the possession of St. Michael's Parish.

through all those weary years the church organization was preserved, through the untiring zeal of Mr. John Usher, Jr., the son of the late rector, and the man who was destined to be his successor. When the time came for the annual Easter meeting he, as the senior warden and clerk of the parish, did not fail to call its few remaining members together, formally to go through with the duties which belong to Easter Monday. For a few years these meetings were held in secret, since by many unthinking zealots in New England the terms "Churchman" and "traitor" were at the time held to be synonymous, but a vestry was annually elected and a record of the proceedings very carefully made.

The minutes of the meeting held April 16, 1781, show that this unjust distrust of the church as a whole had worn away, and that possibly there may have been some unpleasant collisions between the differing members of the parish. The meeting had been duly warned, and a full list of officers was chosen. At the end of the record is a note stating that, for reasons hereafter to be assigned, the names of those who attended the meeting as parishioners and took part in the election of officers are set down. Some eighteen names, many of them very prominent in the town records, are given, and the record closes thus: "The meeting finished with little or no opposition or warmth."

Immediately after the close of the war the services of the church were resumed, Mr. Usher acting as lay reader, and the Episcopal clergymen from neighboring towns occasionally being present to administer the sacraments. These services were held at first in the Court House,* but in 1786 and 1787 a new church was erected on the site of the old, a plain wooden building, sixty feet long and forty feet wide, having seventy-four pews on the ground floor, and galleries on three sides.†

* The old Court House stood in the middle of State Street, half-way between Hope and High. It has since been moved to the western corner of the little street which runs north from Bradford, between High and Wood streets, where it is still used as a dwelling-house.

† In 1811 this building was enlarged, twenty-four feet being added to the western end, making the edifice eighty-four feet long. It was finally torn down in 1833 to

It is probable that this building was not completely furnished until 1793. In 1792 a vote was passed, thanking Col. Simeon Potter for his liberality in painting the building and for other benefactions: in 1793 the thanks of the parish were also presented to Richard Pearse and Moses Vandoorn, for their benefactions, and a plan for pewing the church and for building the pulpit was adopted. The greatest difficulty was experienced in raising the money to pay for this edifice, and Mr. Usher could hardly find purchasers for its pews, even at the nominal price of ten dollars each. The wonder is, that in the peculiar condition of the times, the idea of building should have been entertained by the parish, and the successful carrying out of the project not only shows a great amount of zeal on the part of the congregation, but also indicates very liberal contributions from the few persons of wealth who were then numbered among its members.* The fact that the parish was kept alive so many years with only the services of a lay reader is also remarkable. As a lay reader, Mr. Usher could marry and bury, but of course could not administer the sacraments. In 1791 twenty-five persons were confirmed by Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, and on the 31st of July, 1793,† Mr. Usher was ordained priest. For several years he had been urged to take orders, but his advanced age seemed, both to him and to others,—especially to Bishop Seabury,—to render this step undesirable. The welfare of the parish at last appeared to make it absolutely necessary, and on the 21st of August, 1792, he had addressed this letter to the President of the Diocesan Convention:—

“*Gentlemen*: From an ardent zeal to promote the glory of God, from

make room for the beautiful Gothic structure which was destroyed by fire on the 5th of December, 1858. A part of the old church was incorporated in the building which is now used for a blacksmith's shop, near the head of the Fall River Steamboat wharf.

* In 1799 Colonel Potter presented a bell to the parish. The inscription upon this bell was in French. Whence it came we do not know. Perhaps it had fallen into Captain Potter's hands when he sailed the seas in his famous privateer, the “Prince Charles of Lorraine.”

† This date is given, in his own handwriting, in the “Records of Births, Marriages and Deaths.”

a strong desire to lead man into the way of happiness, from these motives I would wish to dedicate the few remaining days of my life and usefulness, to answer these purposes. Resting it also upon this issue, that I trust myself inwardly thereunto moved. On these principles accept, Gentlemen, of my warmest and sincerest thanks for the address and the sanction given the address to Bishop Seabury on my behalf; and that as soon as it can be conveniently effected I shall present myself to our Right Reverend Bishop Seabury, in order to answer your good intentions.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

JOHN USHER."

Mr. Usher officiated as the rector of the parish until 1800. He was then seventy-eight years old, three years older than his father had been when he died, and the labors of his position seemed too much for his feeble strength. At a parish meeting held March 30, 1800, the aged rector announced that the Rev. Abraham L. Clarke, the rector of St. John's Church, Providence, was about resigning his charge, and advised that he be invited to the rectorship of St. Michael's. Mr. Clarke accepted the position April 9, 1800, but resigned it within a few months, and was elected assistant minister, while Mr. Usher was re-elected rector. The change was probably deemed necessary by reason of the provisions of the Kay bequest. Mr. Usher took no active part in the work of the parish, and was simply its rector *emeritus*. The relations between Mr. Clarke and his congregation do not appear to have been very satisfactory, the insufficient income was probably at the bottom of the trouble, and in 1803 he resigned.* Mr. Usher died in July, 1804, being then eighty-two years of age, and was buried beneath the chancel of the church, near the tomb in which the remains of his father had been laid. The Rev. A. V. Griswold had entered upon his duties in the parish a few months before this time.

For more than three-quarters of a century the two Ushers had served St. Michael's Church. The father, entering upon the work in the vigor and strength of early manhood, had

* He removed to Long Island, where he died shortly after.

found the ashes of a bitter controversy yet glowing, and had been met by the violent prejudices which that controversy had engendered. These prejudices had melted away before his quiet, persistent performance of duty, and in his maturer years he had been honored by the respect and esteem of all with whom he came in contact. As his steps became feeble and his eye grew dim, the whole horizon was darkened with the shadows of a coming storm, but death had stricken him down at his post before the black war-cloud burst upon country and town. When the helm slipped from his dying hand, his son had seized it, and had guided the church safely through the seething billows of the Revolution. Of the more prosperous day that was dawning upon the town, the son caught glimpses, and in the quiet eyes of Mr. Griswold read a happy promise of the bright future, which, under his prayerful and heaven-aided direction, was so soon to bless the church.

CHAPTER XXII.

MORE RECORDS.

At a town-meeting held March 23, 1721, it was voted : —

“Whereas persons often purposely or negligently suffer their chimneys to be on fire, whereby their houses are in danger of being burnt; For the prevention thereof, It is voted, that whoever of the inhabitants of this town living between the two bridges, viz: Walker’s Bridge and Bosworth’s Bridge (so called), shall for the future suffer their chimneys to be on fire, so as to blaze out of the top, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five shillings as a fine therefor, one half thereof to be for the use of the poor of the town, and the other half to him or them that shall inform and sue for the same before any one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for this County.”

The inhabitants of the town in those earlier days seem to have been exceedingly careless about this matter, even after the above vote had been passed. The Rev. Nathaniel Cotton, in a letter dated Oct. 30, 1723, makes mention of a destructive fire, which had just consumed two valuable buildings, “with sundry English goods.” (“Two nights later,” Mr. Cotton writes, “a violent storm broke up all the wharves, destroyed the bridges, and drove several vessels on shore, doing damage to the extent of two thousand pounds.”)

Sept. 26, 1721, the first mention of the small-pox occurs ; it is probable that there were no cases of the disease at that time, as there is no subsequent record to show that a house was procured. At that meeting it was

“Voted, That the Selectmen be directed to take care and get some convenient house to carry any person into that shall be taken with the small-pox, if it please God to suffer that said distemper to come among us.”

June 9, 1722, Nathaniel Bosworth, cooper, was, by vote of the citizens, granted "ten feet in breadth of beach and flats, on the north side of the street called Jones Street, at the north end of the town, and below Thames Street, for to build a wharf thereon, only reserving liberty to land on said wharf all goods, wares, or other things whatsoever, belonging to the Town for public use, from time to time, without paying wharfage." "This was the first wharf built in the town, and is at present owned by the Providence, Warren & Bristol Railroad Company, at the foot of Oliver Street, and has been known for many years as the Parker Borden Wharf. At this time there were two private landings, one near the wharf built by the late James DeWolf, and the other on what was called Warehouse Point, where the long wharf now stands." *

In the year 1724 the town of Taunton presented a petition to the General Court, asking that the County of Bristol might be divided, and that it might be made the shire town of the new county. Colonel Byfield and Nathaniel Blagrove were chosen by the town of Bristol to appear at the next Court and show cause why the county should not be divided. The petition was not granted, but the action of Taunton at this time, and afterwards, prepared the way for the final transfer of Bristol to the jurisdiction of Rhode Island.

The grain crop of the town seems to have been almost a failure in 1724, for, at a meeting held Nov. 6, the selectmen were appointed a committee "to procure one hundred and fifty pounds upon interest, and to lay it out according to their discretion for a stock of Indian Corn and other grain to supply the Inhabitants of the town." This grain was sold under the direction of the selectmen, and at prices fixed by them. Their management of the enterprise was so successful that a profit of six pounds and eleven shillings was secured. This sum was, at a subsequent meeting, ordered to be divided among the members of the committee.

A special town-meeting was held on the 20th of November,

* From B. J. Munro's account of Bristol, in the *Illustrated History of Rhode Island*.

1727, to set prices on articles of merchandise in order to rate them. The following schedule of prices was adopted: Good Barrel Beef, £2, 10s. pr. bbl.; Good Pork, £5; Winter Wheat, 6s. 6d. pr. bushel; Summer do., 5s. 6d.; Barley, 4s. 6d.; Good Rye, 4s. 6d.; Good Indian Corn, 2s. 6d.; Oats, 1s.; Good Peas, clear of bugs, 7s. 6d.; Good Flax, 1s. 2d. pr. lb.; Good Hemp, 7d.; Beeswax, 2s. 4d.; Butter, 10d.; Dry Hides, 4d.; Tanned Leather, 10d.; Dry Cod Fish, £1, 5s. pr. quintal; Good Oil, £2 pr. bbl.; Mackerel, £1; Whale Bone, 3s. 4d. pr. lb.; Bay Berry Wax, 1s. 2d.; Turpentine, 10s. pr. cwt.; Bar Iron, £2, 5s.; Tobacco, 6d. pr. lb.; Tallow, 6d.; Cast Iron, £2 pr. cwt. In this year a second ferry was established to connect Portsmouth with Bristol.

In 1732 the small-pox had begun its ravages. March 27, William Gladding, having been "put out of his house for several months by reason of the small-pox," had his lease proportionally extended. Mr. Gladding was living in the house upon the Common, which the town had allowed John Liscomb, the sexton, to build, and which, with the improvements about it, it had bought in 1728 from his widow. (For the house £28 were paid, for the well £8, and for the fence 40 shillings.) The building stood on Church Street, about half way between High and Wood streets. A small depression still remains where the cellar once was. The house was frequently used as a small-pox hospital in after years, perhaps on account of its nearness to the burying-ground. In 1760 Mr. Gladding was allowed £10 on this account; the records show that in that year three men died in his house, of disease contracted on Captain Potter's vessel.

In 1737 Thames Street was "ascertained" to be three rods wide, Nathaniel Hubbard, Timothy Fales and Jonathan Woodbury having been appointed a committee for that purpose. In 1739 the part of the Common "east of Gladding's house" was designated as a burying-ground. The first burying-ground was the one east of Wood Street, to which some six acres were added in 1811, and which is still used. After the meeting-house was built, the ground near it was used as a resting-

place for the dead. It was not until 1824 that a portion of the town's farm upon the Neck, was set apart as a burying-ground.

The last town-meeting of the citizens of Bristol, Mass., was held on the first day of January, 1746-7. The arrangements for the transfer of the town to the jurisdiction of Rhode Island had already been determined upon. Capt. Jonathan Peck and Mr. Nathaniel Bosworth were chosen as "agents to represent the town, and prefer a petition to the General Assembly at Providence, when they shall set, in order to continue and confirm the privileges of the town." Timothy Fales, Jonathan Woodbury, Joseph Russell, Samuel Howland and Judge Dunbar, were appointed to assist them in drawing up the petition.

The five towns of Bristol, Warren, Tiverton, Little Compton, and Cumberland became a part of Rhode Island on the twenty-seventh day of January, 1746-7. A special session of the Legislature was called to organize the new territory. The two southern towns were annexed to Newport County, Cumberland became a part of Providence County, and a new county was organized from the intervening district, with Bristol as the shire town. In each town a special justice of the peace was appointed, whose duty it was to preserve the peace and to issue a warrant to call the inhabitants together, on the second Tuesday of the next February, for the purpose of choosing town officers and deputies to the General Assembly. Jonathan Peck was appointed Justice of the Peace for the town of Bristol.

The first town-meeting of the citizens of Bristol, Rhode Island, was held on the "Second Tuesday of February in the Twentieth year of his Majesty's Reign (George II.) A. D. 1746-7, being y^e tenth day of said month." Jonathan Woodbury was chosen Moderator, and Samuel Howland, Town Clerk. Jonathan Peck was chosen First Deputy, and Nathaniel Bosworth Second Deputy to the General Assembly. Jonathan Woodbury, Joseph Russell, Maj. Thomas Greene, Jonathan Peck, Capt. Jeremiah Finney and Thomas Throope, Jr., were elected as members of the Town Council. Jona-

than Woodbury, Joseph Russell and William Munro were appointed Rate-Makers. Joseph Russell became the Town Treasurer, with a salary of £8, old tenor,* per annum, for his services.

At this meeting the following freemen "took the Oath of Bribery and Corruption:" —

Samuel Smith,	Joshua Bayley,	John May,
Thomas Throope,	Joseph Eddy,	Thomas Kinnicutt,
Joseph Reynolds,	Ebenezer Dyre,	Joseph Waldron,
Dea. John Throope,	Joseph Wardwell,	Joshua Ingraham,
Nathaniel Bosworth,	William Hoar,	John Oldredge,
Hopestill Potter,	Thomas Weaver,	Joseph Waldron, Jr.,
John Dyre,	William Bosworth,	James Wardwell,
Elisha May,	Simeon Munro,	Benjamin Reynolds,
Thomas Throope, Jr.,	John Bosworth, Jr.,	Capt. Thomas Lawton,
Jeremiah Finney,	John Wardwell,	Nathaniel Munro,
Maj. Thomas Greene,	James Bosworth,	Benjamin Smith,
William Gallop,	John Munro,	John Howland,—
Samuel Viall,	Samuel Bosworth,	Samuel Howland,—
Cornelius Waldron,	Capt. Samuel Gallop,	Henry Bragg,
John Walker,	Nathaniel Pearse,	Jonathan Peck,
Jeremiah Diman,	Isaac Lawton,	Thomas Munro,
Rogers Richmond,	John Lindsay,	Nathaniel Fales,
John Bushee,	John Throope, Jr.,	John Hubbard,
Timothy Ingraham,	Benjamin Salsbury,	Bennett Munro,
Joseph Russell, Esq.,	William Coggeshall,	Dr. Aaron Bourne,
George Dunbar, Esq.,	Elisha Weaver,	Nathaniel Carey,
William Pearse,	John Reynolds, Jr.,	William Coggeshall, Jr.

"The most detestable crime of Bribery" was alarmingly prevalent in the colony of Rhode Island at this time (its absurd paper-money system was at the bottom of the whole trouble †), and the General Assembly had enacted very

* The bills of the "Banks," which Rhode Island had issued, up to the year 1740, "had merely expressed so many pounds, shillings, or pence, at which they were to pass current, while in this issue (the seventh) the General Assembly further attempted to fix their value in gold or silver coin. Their value, as determined by the law, was to be nine shillings per ounce of sterling alloy (silver), or six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence per ounce of coined gold. This was the beginning of what was known as new tenor bills. Occasionally a quantity was printed from the old plates, which was known as old tenor. These terms continued to be used until about the year 1758, subsequent to which time all bills were called lawful money bills."—*R. I. Hist. Tract, No. 8. Bills of Credit, or Paper Money of Rhode Island, page 53.*

† For a full account of the paper-money issues, the reader should consult Mr. Rider's exhaustive tract, quoted in the preceding note.

stringent laws upon the subject, at its session in Newport, in the preceding August. The property qualification for freeholders had been doubled. Only those could vote who held property of the value of £400, or which would rent for at least £20 per annum (the eldest son of each freeholder was, however, entitled to a vote), and the "Oath of Bribery and Corruption" which follows, was required to be taken by each freeman before he was allowed to vote. The town clerk was required to keep a list of the freemen, and to send a copy thereof to the state officers at each annual election. *One vote* unlawfully obtained by any officer invalidated his election.

"You, A — B — do solemnly swear (or affirm), That you have not, nor will not, receive any money, or other reward, nor any promise of any money, or other thing, by which you may expect any money, or future reward, at the election of any officer to be chosen in this Colony: And that you will not bargain or contract with any person, directly or indirectly, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Oath, (or affirmation); but that you will use your Freedom for the good of the Government only, without any other motive: And this declaration you make, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever."

Every officer, from the governor down to the constable, was required to make this declaration: —

"You, A — B — being chosen and appointed to the office of ——— do hereby sincerely and solemnly declare, That you do justly and truly abhor the most detestable crime of Bribery, and that during the time you shall execute your aforesaid office, you will use the utmost of your endeavors to expose, and bring to justice, all persons whatsoever, who shall, directly or indirectly take any reward, or promise of reward, for their votes in choosing any officer in this Colony; and that you will, as far as in you lieth, cause the laws of this Government to be put in execution against all persons so offending, without partiality or affection."

In 1747 Capt. Jonathan Peek and Capt. Simeon Potter were granted permission "to make a Rope-Walk and to make or lay Rigging" on High Street. Many votes concerning rope-walks appear on the old records. Within the memory of not a few of our citizens, some of our streets have been



Residence of Mr. Charles A. Greene.

closed by numberless lines of cordage. In the last century, and in the early part of the present century, this business was a very important one. The labor-saving machinery which is now used in the manufacture of cordage had not then been invented, and all the rigging was made by hand. In some of the old rope-walks forty and fifty men were often employed. All the long buildings have now disappeared. The last of the series was owned and managed by Mr. Samuel Sparks, who died not many years ago. It stood on the south side of Constitution Street, between Hope and High streets.

On the 9th of March, 1747, John Walker was chosen Vendue Master. This office had been established by the Legislature of Rhode Island many years before. At first only Newport was empowered to hold public auctions, but in 1719 a law was passed, establishing vendue masters in every town. Their fees were two and a half per cent. on the

amount of sales, and they were required to settle with the owners of the goods within five days.

Feb. 8, 1747-S. "Mark Antony DeWolf took the Oath of Bribery and Corruption and was admitted a Freeman."

Dec. 16, 1751. "Voted that the two Ministers, viz Mr. Usher and Mr. Burt, and their estates be exempted from paying rates or taxes for this year."

April 15, 1752. "Voted that Mr. Thomas Kinnicut be desired to make a new gate at the north end of the town, on the east side of the neck, across the Highway, and likewise to make a piece of stone wall to complete the fence across the said way."

This was the fence just north of Crane's Lane, which marked the boundary line between Bristol and Swansea, and which continued to be the northern limit of the town until a portion of its territory was annexed to Warren in 1873. The gate was upon the "Back Road."

April 4, 1757, £500 were ordered to be raised "for advancing the bounty of those that shall voluntarily enlist in the present expedition." "The Old French and Indian War" was being carried on. Bristol was required to furnish eleven men of the four hundred and fifty which the General Assembly of Rhode Island had ordered. Warren, also, was required to furnish the same number, and Maj. Thomas Greene was appointed muster-master for Bristol County. The soldiers were to be enlisted for one year, and the bounty seems disproportionally large, but it must be borne in mind that the men were paid in paper money.*

* The following table, fixing the value of "old tenor" bills, at different periods, was made by the General Assembly in June, 1763.

£. s. d.		£. s. d.	
1751, 2. 16. 0 =	One Spanish Milled Dollar.	1758, 6. 0. 0 =	One Spanish Milled Dollar.
1752, 3. 0. 0 =	" "	1759, 6. 0. 0 =	" "
1753, 3. 10. 0 =	" "	1760, 6. 0. 0 =	" "
1754, 3. 15. 0 =	" "	1761, 6. 10. 0 =	" "
1755, 4. 5. 0 =	" "	1762, 7. 0. 0 =	" "
1756, 5. 5. 0 =	" "	1763, 7. 0. 0 =	" "
1757, 5. 15. 0 =	" "		

"To understand the exact value of the dollar in Federal Money, at the several periods referred to, the pound must be reckoned at twenty shillings of sixteen and two-thirds cents each, or \$3.33; so that in 1751, the Spanish dollar was worth \$9.33, and in 1763, \$23.33."—*R. I. Colonial Records, Vol. VI., page 361.*

August 11, 1762. "Voted, That inasmuch as Capt. William Holmes is about to carry Mrs. Mary Gaiudet and her daughter to Amsterdam in Holland, if said Mary or her daughter should be taken sick there, and the said William Holmes should be obliged to pay for the same, by reason of his landing them there, this town will reimburse the same to said Holmes or his owner on demand, and also any other charge he the said Holmes may be obliged to pay for them by compulsion of authority."

The commerce of the port was at this time quite extensive, about fifty vessels, mostly sloops and brigantines, being owned here. The "fore-and-aft" schooner (which is a purely American invention, the first one having been built at Gloucester, Mass., in 1714) had not then acquired the popularity which it now enjoys. Most of the vessels of the last century were rigged with square sails; many, even, of the sloops carried a square top-sail. Occasionally a "Snow" came to anchor in the harbor. This was a vessel rigged very much like a modern "bark," with fore and main-masts, and very near the main-mast a small mizzen-mast, which carried a try-sail. The principal trade was with the West Indies.

In 1762 Dr. William Bradford was first chosen as moderator of a town-meeting (he had been elected one of the deputies in the preceding year), and from this time until his death his name appears in the records of all the important measures in which the town was concerned.

May 17, 1764. "Voted, That Mr. John Usher's account for keeping school one year and a half, viz: from August 10th, 1762, to February 10 1764, amounting to one thousand and fifty pounds, old tenor, be allowed and paid out of the School Treasury."

One Spanish milled dollar at that time was worth £7 in old tenor bills.

Dec. 19, 1767. "Voted, That there be some suitable persons chosen, to put the law in Execution, with respect to Indian, Negro, or Mulatto servants, or slaves being out at unseasonable time of the night."

About this time the town-meetings were held in Mr. Haile Turner's tavern, on Hope Street. The house has just been torn down to give place to the residence of Mr. Charles A. Greene, the Editor of the *Bristol Phoenix*.

July 15, 1768. "The Town Council was informed that a vessel belonging to Simeon Potter, Esq., and commanded by Mark A. DeWolf, Jr., just in from the West Indies, had on board 'a negro wench, sick with the small-pox, and that sundry persons belonging to said vessel were come on shore.' Fearing that the disease would spread, unless effectual means should be taken to prevent it, the Council ordered Jonathan Munday to examine the persons supposed to be afflicted, and to give notice to the Council whenever symptoms of disease should appear on any of them. Richard Hoath was ordered to go on board the vessel and clean it. None of the crew were allowed to come on shore."

In 1771 Dea. John Howland was directed to erect a new pair of stocks and a whipping-post. These appurtenances of the town's judiciary were erected near the Court House, on State Street. The stocks were placed on the sidewalk, high up upon the bank, that their occupants might be the more clearly seen by all the passers-by. They continued to be used until the early part of the present century. The stocks and the whipping-post were used to punish very many lesser offences against the laws. Sometimes a prisoner was sentenced to be "whipped out of town." An ox-cart was procured, the prisoner was tied to the rear end, and as the oxen moved slowly along, the requisite number of lashes was administered. This practice was still in vogue within the memory of many persons now living.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE "GASPEE."

ON the ninth day of June, 1772, the first British blood shed in the contest which resulted in the Independence of America, was shed upon the British armed schooner "Gaspee." The "Gaspee" had been stationed in Narragansett Bay to prevent smuggling, but its commander, Lieutenant Duddingston, had discharged his duty with needless severity, and had made himself and his vessel exceedingly unpopular. On that day, while chasing the sloop "Hannah," bound from New York, via Newport, to Providence, the "Gaspee" ran aground on Namquit—now called Gaspee—Point, while the "Hannah" reached Providence in safety. Immediately a drummer went through the streets proclaiming the situation of the hated vessel, and calling for volunteers to destroy her before the next high tide should float her again into safety. The volunteers were desired to meet that evening in the house of Mr. James Sabin, on South Main Street. Eight long boats, each with five muffled oars, were provided by Mr. John Brown, and started down the bay on their dangerous enterprise a little after 10 o'clock. The oars were muffled to enable the boats to reach the "Gaspee" without being perceived. There was no attempt at disguise on the part of those engaged in the expedition. As the party approached the vessel, a little after midnight, they were joined by another boat from Bristol, under the command of Capt. Simeon Potter. Their approach was perceived by the people of the "Gaspee," and as the boats dashed forward shots were fired from the British schooner and returned by

the attacking party. The vessel was boarded, and after a short but desperate struggle, in which the English commander was severely wounded, was captured. The captured crew were bound and put upon the shore. The vessel was set on fire and entirely destroyed, and in the clear morning light the boats went joyfully homeward. The participants in the affair made no effort to conceal it; indeed, some of them boasted of their exploit when they reached Providence, but although a reward of £1,000 was offered by the British authorities for information which might lead to the conviction of the offenders, no one was ever brought to trial. The news of the destruction of the "Gaspee" spread quickly throughout the English Colonies; and with the story went also the tidings, that notwithstanding the fact that the British Government had pronounced the act high treason, and had offered a large reward for the detection of the criminals: notwithstanding the fact that the boats had gone homeward in broad daylight, and that almost every one in Providence knew the names of the attacking party, yet no one of any character could be found in Rhode Island to testify against these bold outlaws. The little testimony offered was always successfully contradicted, even when it seemed very straightforward, as was the case with that of Aaron Briggs, which is here given in full:—

"The examination of Aaron, a mulatto, upon oath, taken this 14th day of January, A. D. 1773.

"Aaron Briggs, aged eighteen years, or there about, declares, that at the age of five years, he was bound by the town of Portsmouth, an apprentice to Capt. Samuel Tompkins, of Prudence Island, until he should arrive at the age of twenty-four years; from which time, until he went on board the man-of-war, he was constantly in the service of the said Captain Tompkins, as a laborer on his farm.

"That his master kept a two-mast boat in which to transport his farm produce to market; which was the only sail-boat within five miles of his master's farm, at the time the Gaspee was burnt. That, at that time, one Remington, who lived about one mile from where the deponent lived, had a row-boat, large enough for six hands to row; also, one Ephraim Peirce, at about a mile and a half distance, had a two-mast boat; and that the sails of his master's boat had been taken off some time before the night on which the Gaspee was burnt; and she leaked in such a manner, that she could not sail.

"That a little after sunset, on the night in which the Gaspee was burnt, he left the island of Prudence, but does not know the day of the week, or the day of the month; that he went off the island in a little fishing boat, of two oars, which boat lay just before the house: that before sunrise, and about an hour after day-break, he returned to his master's house, from the shore where they landed the people belonging to the Gaspee; which shore was about a mile above said Gaspee; and the Gaspee about six miles from his master's house; and that it was about four or five miles from his master's, to the place where they landed the Gaspee people; that he found the oars in the boat, that he went off said island in.

"That the reason he went off the island was to carry the boat round to the east side of said island, to carry a man named Samuel Faulkner, a hired man, to Bristol the next night; and that this young man told the deponent, that he would ask his master's leave for that purpose. That going round said island, at about half a mile from said shore of said island, he met a boat and one Potter, whose Christian name he does not know, and whom he in company with Faulkner, above-named, had once seen on a wharf at Bristol, and there heard him called by the name of Potter. And further says, that said Faulkner told him, that that was the person who owned the rope-walk in Bristol that they had been in: that when he met said Potter, as above mentioned, he was in a boat which was rowed with eight oars; that the time he met the said Potter, was about half an hour after he, this deponent left the island, and he, said Potter, was about five miles from Bristol; that there were eleven men in said boat; said Potter was in the stern sheets; that the weather was cloudy; that when Potter hailed him, they were about fifteen rods distant.

"The first words Potter spoke, was by asking who was in that boat.

"The deponent answered he was in there.

"Potter told him to come that way, he wanted to speak to him.

"Upon which, he went to him; and Potter told him he wanted this deponent to go up with him, about a mile, and that he would be back in an hour.

"This deponent said he could not, he was in a hurry to go home.

"To which, Potter replied, he must go with him.

"The deponent answered, he could not; he must go home or his master would punish him; and this deponent then began to row away.

"Potter told him he wanted this deponent to go with him, to fetch something down, which this deponent had forgotten; and that he would pay him for so doing.

"This deponent said he would rather go home, for if his master should miss him, he would say he was out all night, and flog him.

"Upon which, Potter said, there is no can't in the matter; you must go along with me, we shall be back in an hour; and further said, give me your painter, you need not row, we will carry you up there.

"Upon which this deponent gave them the painter; that he, this deponent, being in his own boat, was rowed up by Potter's boat, till they came within half a mile of the schooner.

"Potter then said to this deponent, get into my boat; that he got into the boat; Potter then told him, they were going to burn the man-of-war schooner, and that he, this deponent, must go with him.

"To which he replied, that it was hard for him to be brought there, where he might lose his life.

"Potter then said, they were all upon their lives.

"This deponent still repeated, it was hard for him to go.

"But Potter said he must go, now he was there: and that they would give him a weapon, and he must do as they did, knock them down, and not let them kill him, if he could help it, and gave him a handspike; the rest were armed some with cutlasses, some with muskets; this happened at about 10 o'clock, at night.

"Potter further told this deponent, that they expected sixteen or seventeen more boats from Providence.

"In about an hour afterwards, they met eight boats, about half a mile from the schooner, which appeared to be pretty full of people.

"Upon their meeting, Potter and two men, called Brown by the people, whom this deponent did not know, talked about how they should board the schooner. One of these persons, called Brown, got into Potter's boat, on which they were hailed from the Gaspee, and told to stand off; upon which, Brown said row up. Immediately after, he, this deponent, saw the captain of the schooner come upon deck, in his breeches, and fired a pistol into one of the boats, and wounded one of the men in the thigh; that he saw a man who was in the boat with Potter, and who was called Brown, fire a musket which wounded the captain; after which there was no more firing; but they instantly boarded the schooner: that the captain of the schooner when he was wounded, he thinks, stood by the foreshrouds, upon the left hand side. When they got on board, there were about four of the schooner's men on deck, and the rest were coming up out of the hold, and somebody said, 'Knock 'em down and kill them; no matter what you do with them.' That this deponent did not know the Browns, nor hear them called by their Christian names; and further declares that it was John Brown, who shot the captain, and that he hath never seen either of the Browns since.

"That after they got possession of the vessel, they took the hands belonging to the schooner, and threw them down the hold; and this happened about 3 o'clock in the morning. Then the people searched the vessel, took the captain's papers, which he desired they would give him, but they refused, tore them, and threw them overboard. Then they took the Gaspee's people, tied their hands, and put them into the boat and carried them ashore, this deponent going with them. By the time they got half way ashore, the schooner was on fire; that before they went ashore, a doctor whom they called Weeks, from one of the boats, dressed the captain's wounds; that when they had landed the people, they untied their hands and let them go, and the captain of the schooner they carried up to a house.

"After they had landed the men, they put off to return, and Potter told him he would give him two dollars for what he had done, which he accordingly did; upon which this deponent set off in his own boat, and rowed home; that it was about 4 o'clock, when they had landed the schooner's people; that it was a moonlight night, but sometimes cloudy; that soon after the people had boarded the schooner, they hoisted the top-sails, her head laying up toward Providence, and he saw nothing further done to her or her sails; that the schooner, when they boarded her, was aground; that the person who acted as the surgeon, he thinks he has seen at his master's house; but is not sure it was the same person.

"This deponent further says, that the person to whom he first gave an account of the above affair of burning the Gaspee, was Capt. Linzee, of the Beaver. Soon after the burning of the schooner, he went aboard the Beaver, in his master's said boat; that immediately upon his going on board they put him in irons, because they imagined he intended to run away from his master; it was about 10 o'clock at night when the deponent was put in irons, and was released about 10 o'clock the next day, and then they were going to flog him. After he was tied up to the mast, one of the Gaspee's men, called Paddy Alis, jumped up and told the captain that he thought he, this deponent, was one that was aboard the schooner Gaspee. About this time, the deponent had said nothing about the burning of the schooner, nor had made no discovery relating to what he knew.

"The captain asked the man if he was sure of it. He said, yes.

"The captain asked what clothes he had on. The man said two frocks.

"Then the captain told the man to examine what clothes he had, which they found were two frocks. There was no mention made of any other clothes. The next day Paddy Alis and the deponent were called up before the captain, who asked Paddy if he was sure that this deponent was one concerned in the attack on the schooner. He said, yes.

"He further asked him if he could swear to it. He answered, yes.

"That the captain then administered an oath to the said Paddy, upon the Bible, who swore that this deponent was there. The captain then said to this deponent, 'My lad, you see this man has declared you were there, and if you don't tell who were there with you, I will hang you at the yard-arm immediately; and if you do you shall not be hurt.' Upon which this deponent told the captain all the heads that were there, the captain saying he did not want to know anything about the poor people, but only the heads.

"This deponent further says, that he never spoke to any of the Beaver's crew till he got on board; that his master's boat, in which this deponent went on board the ship, his master went on board and received again; that this deponent went on board said man-of-war with an intention not to return again to his master; that he, this deponent never was christened, and that he should have told Captain Linzee all he knew relating to the Gaspee, immediately upon his going on board, if they had not put him in irons.

"The deponent further says, that the morning after the burning of the schooner, when he returned to his master's, he went to bed with two black servants, with whom he usually slept; he lay there a little while, and upon his master's knocking, he got up and went to fetch the cows. That when he first returned to his master's house, he got in at a lower window, on the south-west part of the house, which opens into the middle room; that during the whole transaction on said night the schooner was burnt, no man called this deponent by name or knew him."

This deposition was sworn to on the fourteenth day of January, A. D. 1773. When the negro, Aaron, made a statement of the foregoing facts, a few weeks after the burning of the vessel, Governor Wanton was recommended by Admiral Montagu of the English fleet, to arrest the parties charged by the negro with having been concerned in the "Gaspee's" destruction. This Governor Wanton did not do. "Whether," says Mr. Bartlett, in the Rhode Island *Colonial Records*, "he knew they were concerned in the affair, which is probable, and desired to screen them, or whether he disbelieved the statement of Aaron, and determined to make it so appear, the reader must judge. But it seems he lost no time in obtaining the following affidavits." The affidavits given, went to prove that the negro did not leave the island of Prudence on the night in question. On the other hand, Patrick Earle, a sailor on the "Gaspee," "well remembered that he heard the name of Potter mentioned." He described the person addressed as Potter, as being "tall and slim, with a long, sharp nose, in light-colored long clothes, his hair tied behind, looking more like a shore man than a seaman;" which corresponds very well with the descriptions of Colonel Potter which have been handed down to us. Earle further testified, that when the "Gaspee's" people were carried ashore, he loosed his hands from the cords which confined them, and helped Aaron Briggs row the bow-oar.

The following song, composed at the time, is attributed to Capt. Thomas Swan, of Bristol, who is supposed to have been one of the participants in the affair:—

'T was in the reign of George the Third,
Our public peace was much disturbed

By ships of war that came and laid
Within our ports, to stop our trade.
Seventeen hundred and seventy-two,
In Newport Harbor lay a crew
That played the parts of pirates there,
The sons of freedom could not bear.
Sometimes they weighed and gave them chase,
Such actions, sure, were very base.
No honest coaster could pass by
But what they would let some shot fly;
And did provoke, to high degree,
Those true born sons of liberty;
So that they could no longer bear
Those sons of Belial staying there.
But 't was not long 'fore it fell out,
That William Duddingston, so stout,
Commander of the "Gaspee" tender,
Which he has reason to remember,
Because, as people do assert,
He almost had his just desert;
Here, on the tenth day of last June,
Betwixt the hours of twelve and one,
Did chase the sloop, called the "Hannah,"
Of whom one Lindsay was commander.
They dogged her up Providence Sound,
And there the rascal got aground,
The news of it flew that very day,
That they on Namquit Point did lay.
That night about half after ten
Some Narragansett Indian men,
Being sixty-four, if I remember,
Which made the stout coxcomb surrender;
And what was best of all their tricks,
They in his breech a ball did fix;
Then set the men upon the land,
And burnt her up, we understand;
Which thing provoked the King so high
He said those men shall surely die;
So if he could but find them out,
The hangman he 'll employ, no doubt;
For he 's declared, in his passion,
He 'll have them tried a new fashion,
Now, for to find these people out,
King George has offered very stout,
One thousand pounds to find out one
That wounded William Duddingston.
One thousand more, he says he 'll spare,
For those who say the sheriffs were;

One thousand more there doth remain
For to find out the leader's name;
Likewise, five hundred pounds per man
For any one of all the clan.
But let him try his utmost skill,
I'm apt to think he never will
Find out any of those hearts of gold,
Though he should offer fifty fold.

Of the author of this song, Judge Staples says, in his *Documentary History of the Destruction of the "Gaspee"*: "He richly deserves the thanks, not only of his contemporaries, but of posterity; not so much for the sweet poetry of his song, as for the ballad shape in which he invested the transaction. Undoubtedly some tune was found at the time to match it, notwithstanding the limping gait of some of the stanzas; and as it was sung in the circle of boon companions, they recalled the light of the burning 'Gaspee' to their recollection, and hailed it as being, what subsequent events have shown it to be, the dawning light of freedom, whose mid-day effulgence now overspreads the land."

CHAPTER XXIV.

SIMEON POTTER.

"I love with all my heart,
The independent part,
To obey the Parliament
My conscience won't consent.
I never can abide
To fight on England's side.
I pray that God may bless
The great and Grand Congress.
This is my mind and heart
Tho' none should take my part.

The man thats called a Tory,
To plague is all my glory.
How righteous is the cause,
To keep the Congress laws!
To fight against the King,
Bright Liberty will bring,
Lord North and England's King
I hope that they will swing.
Of this opinion I
Resolve to live and die."

THESE simple rhymes, handed down from the Revolutionary days in the handwriting of Captain Potter, are still preserved by a descendant of one of his sisters. They enable us to form a very accurate impression of the character of a man, who, for almost half a century, was one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of the town and State.

Simeon Potter was the son of Hopedill Potter, of Bristol. He was born in this town in the year 1720, in a house which stood at the southeast corner of Church and Hope streets. His boyhood was, without doubt, spent upon the ocean, at that time both the play-ground and school of the adventurous youth of Narragansett Bay. His education must have been almost entirely neglected. His letters are those of an exceedingly illiterate man; they show that even in his maturer years he could have made no effort to atone for the educational deficiencies of early life. At the age when men are usually uncertain what course in life to adopt, he had already attained to a commanding position, through his great force of character and unusual natural abilities, and, like most self-made men

whom wars and conflicts have tossed into prominence, he was inclined greatly to undervalue the advantages of education. When he came back to reside in the little seaport from whence he had gone forth a humble sailor lad not many years before, his purse was overflowing with the riches acquired in wild marauding excursions upon foreign shores; his great wealth made him a man of mark in the community, and secured for him a deference which would by no means be accorded at the present day. The turbulent times in which his life was cast, at first seemed to demand just such turbulent characters as was Captain Potter, to assist in working out the problems which were then requiring solution. Into all the conflicts of the age, he plunged with the same eagerness and thoughtlessness which, in other days, had been the characteristic of the mail-clad warriors of the middle-ages, and in those contests his happy fortune ever preserved him from dangerous wounds. When his age made it no longer possible for him to engage in contests of arms, his pugnacious disposition forced him into legal controversies, and kept him breathing the air of the court-room, even when he had numbered more than fourscore years of life. The story of his career well illustrates the changed conditions of the times, and marks the immense difference between the Bristol of to-day, and the Bristol of a hundred years ago.

In all the foreign wars in which the New England colonies were involved during the eighteenth century, in consequence of their allegiance to Great Britain, Rhode Island was second only to Massachusetts in furnishing money and soldiers. The little colony furnished *more* privateers and seamen, than did any of her sisters; from the year 1700 to the beginning of the Revolution, at least 180 private armed ships must have been sent out from her ports. In one year, almost one-fifth of the adult male population were engaged on board of vessels of this class. From all the ports of Narragansett Bay, there sailed forth long, sharp, rakish-looking vessels, whose marvellous powers of sailing placed the slow-moving ships of the French and Spaniards entirely at their mercy. Speed was

the one thing sought for in the construction of these privateers, and they were crowded with adventurous seamen, who handled them with wondrous skill. The long guns which they carried, and the ease with which they were manœuvred, enabled them to do deadly harm at a distance which prevented the guns of their adversaries from inflicting any damage upon themselves. A broadside at short range, from an ordinary man-of-war, would have crashed through their hulls and sent them at once to the bottom of the ocean, but the seamanship of their commanders almost always preserved them from the chance of such a catastrophe. From the fury of the terrible gales which drove them upon rocky coasts no human skill could save them; their slight frames were at once dashed to pieces, and death was, in almost every case, the lot of the hapless crew whom such a fate befell.

The kind of warfare in which these vessels were at times engaged, would be deemed rather disreputable at the present day. A descent upon an unguarded coast, and such a plundering of the houses of defenceless citizens as was the universal custom in the wars of the last century, would now bring no honor to the participants in such a raid; but men have grown more scrupulous since that time, and now regard as little better than piracy, acts which were then everywhere regarded as the inevitable accompaniments of civilized war. It will not answer for us to consider these matters from a nineteenth century point of view; we must take into account the sentiments of the age that is past, and judge them as men were then accustomed to judge them. At that time such an expedition as that which is here recorded conferred honor and reputation upon all who took part in it.

Of most of these voyages the record has long since passed away. Of the one in which Captain Potter was engaged, a very complete account has been strangely preserved, and within a few years made public. At the sale of a somewhat famous library, in England, many years ago, a set of the *Letters of Jesuit Missionaries from 1650-1750*, contained in some fifty volumes, was purchased by the present Bishop of

California, and brought to this country. Bishop Kip afterwards published a translation of the letters which especially related to American history, and it is from his book that the account of the "Prince Charles of Lorraine" is taken. Father Fauque, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, was the author of the original letter, which is dated "At Cayenne the 22d of Dec., 1744," and the extract which follows is given in his own words (though greatly abridged), as translated by Bishop Kip: —

"Scarcely had war been declared between France and England, when the English were sent from North America to cruise among the islands to the leeward of Cayenne. Having gone too far south, and the water giving out, they approached Oyapoc to obtain some. The Aroüas Indians having been seized by the English, gave them information of the little colony of Oyapoc, of which they were ignorant, and on which they had no designs when leaving their own country. Everything united to cause us to fall into the hands of these pirates.* Their chief was Captain Simeon Potter, a native of New England, fitted out to cruise with a commission from Wilhems Guéene, Governor of Rodelan,† and commanding the vessel 'Prince Charles of Lorraine,' of ten cannon, twelve swivel-guns, and a crew of sixty-two men. Having learned the situation, the force and everything which related to Oyapoc, they determined to surprise it. The English were within the place before any one had time to collect his thoughts. Our commander, however, fired and wounded in the left arm the English captain, a young man about thirty years of age.‡ What is singular, the captain was the only one wounded on either side. He was a man small in stature and not in any respect differing from the others in dress. He had his left arm in a sling, a sabre in his right hand, and two pistols in his belt. He was acquainted with some words of French, told me that I had nothing to fear, as no one would attempt my life.

"They transported from our houses, furniture, clothes, provisions, all with a disorder and confusion that was remarkable. The captain said to me, as an excuse for himself, that the French had taken, pillaged, and burned an English post named Campo, and that several persons had been smothered in the flames. He said that he regretted having come here, as this delay might cause him to miss two merchant vessels, richly loaded, which were on the point of sailing from the harbor of Cayenne. What gave me the greatest pain was to see the sacred vessels in these profane and sacrilegious hands. I told them what faith and religion

* "Les Corsaires," is the term which Father Fauque uses.

† William Greene was Governor of Rhode Island in 1744-5. The "Prince Charles of Lorraine" was owned in Newport; she sailed from that port, Sept. 7, 1744.

‡ Father Fauque was mistaken in that point. Simeon Potter was but twenty-four at the time.

inspired me to say. With words of persuasion I mingled motives of fear for so criminal a profanation. I saw many moved, and disposed to return these articles to me; but cupidity and avarice prevailed, and all the silver was packed up and carried aboard the vessel. The captain told me that he would willingly yield to me what he was able to return, but that he had no control over the others; that all the crew having part of the booty, he was not able, as captain, to dispose of any but his own share. On the next day, the pillage recommenced. Each carried to the fort whatever happened to fall into his hands, and threw it down in a pile. One arrived wearing an old cassock; another in a woman's petticoat; a third with the crown of a bonnet on his head. It was the same with those who guarded the booty. They searched in the heap of clothes, and when they found anything which suited their fancy, — as a peruke, a laced chapeau, or a dress,—they immediately put it on, and made three or four turns through the room with great satisfaction, after which they resumed their fantastical rags. They were like a band of monkeys, or of savages who had never been away from the depths of the forest. A parasol or a mirror, the smallest article of furniture a little showy, excited their admiration. This did not surprise me, when I learned that they had scarcely any communication with Europe, and that Rodelan was a kind of little republic which did not pay any tribute to the King of England, which elected its own Governor every year, and which had not even any silver money, but only notes for daily commerce.

“I was waiting for the return of those who had been to visit the dwellings, when they came to me to say that it was necessary for me to go on board the ship. We embarked in a canoe, and although the ship was now no more than three leagues distant, we nevertheless only reached it in about eight hours, in consequence of the remissness of the rowers, who were constantly drinking. On the following days, the long boat made many trips to land, so that we had the pleasure of having good water, tho’ many scarcely used it, preferring the wine and rum which they had on the deck at will. I ought to say in commendation of the captain that he was entirely sober. He even frequently expressed to me the pain he felt at the excesses of his crew, to whom, according to the custom of these pirates, he was obliged to allow an abundance of liberty.

“On Sunday morning, I waited to see some religious service, but every thing went on as usual. The captain took out a book of devotion, and I noticed that during this day and the following Sunday he occasionally looked at it. As the boats were constantly going and coming transporting the pillage, one came that very evening bringing five Indians. I represented to Capt. Potter that, as the Indians were free among us, he ought not to take them prisoners. But he answered me ‘that this kind of people were used for slaves in Rodelan, and that he should take them thither in spite of all that I could say.’ He has in fact carried them away, with the Arouas whom he had first captured in the Bay of Oyapoc. On Tuesday morning those arrived who had been to plunder the dwellings, carrying with them what they had pillaged, which to

their great regret was inconsiderable. The next day, all the morning was passed in making up packages, in destroying all the furniture which remained in the different houses, and in tearing off the locks and hinges of the doors, particularly those which were made of brass. At last they set fire to the houses of the inhabitants, which were shortly reduced to ashes. I prayed them at least to spare the church, but they burned it. They told me that the winds had undoubtedly carried thither some sparks which had set it on fire. At last after everything was carried to the boats, the sailors finished by burning all the buildings of the fort. At length, having rowed out into the river, they shouted many times 'Houra,' which is their '*Vive le roi.*' and their cry of joy."

Such is the account which has been brought to light, of the descent upon Oyapoc. It does not present a very pleasing picture, and yet on account of it Captain Potter and his vessel became very famous.* Bishop Kip says that the first officer of the privateer at this time was a young man from the island of Guadaloupe, who had married one of Captain Potter's sisters,—Mark Antony DeWolf, the first of that name which has since been so prominent in the annals of Bristol. According to Mr. William P. Sheffield, of Newport, who has made a special study of the history of the old Newport privateers, Mr. DeWolf was not the first officer of the "Prince Charles of Lorraine," but the clerk of Captain Potter. The "Prince Charles" was wrecked during a violent snow-storm, not long after her return from this South American voyage. She was driven on the rocks at the east side of Seaconnet Point, and very quickly broken to pieces.

The story goes, that Captain Potter's vessel was visited by some of the officers of a British man-of-war just after her return. The Englishmen were delighted with her trim appearance, and expressed their pleasure to her commander. They did so, however, with the air of patronizing condescension which our British brethren then deemed it proper to assume in their intercourse with the natives of rude America. Proud as Lucifer, was the young Rhode Island sailor, and the arrogance of his guests was bitterly galling. For a time

* The letter of Father Fauque also describes the voyage of the privateer along the coast, and the events which preceded his exchange. Some of the silver which Captain Potter brought home with him from Oyapoc is still in the possession of descendants of his family.

he forbore to reply, but at last one of them ventured to ask, "why he did not apply to His Majesty for a commission; the King would undoubtedly be glad to give him a larger and better ship." Then the wrath of the American captain blazed forth. "When I wish for a better ship I will not ask His Majesty for one; I will build one myself," he said, and turning upon his heel, left the astonished Englishmen to wonder at what he could have taken offence.

Captain Potter left the sea and came to Bristol to live very soon after the town was annexed to Rhode Island. In 1746 his name first appears in the list of the vestrymen of St. Michael's Church, and in 1747 he built the rope-walk, which was afterwards to prove the source of such a great income to him. He was first chosen to represent the town in the General Assembly in 1752, and from that time until the Revolution his name can frequently be seen in the records of that body. During his residence in this quiet town, it must not be supposed that his life was entirely a tranquil one. On the contrary, he was rarely without some lawsuit or personal quarrel to engage his superfluous energy, and passed his days in a state of delightful conflict. His maritime experience had intensified a naturally imperious disposition, and in the little town he found men with dispositions just as imperious, who were by no means disposed to submit to his dictation, and who were ever ready to oppose their wills to his. The air of Narragansett Bay seems always to have had a tendency to develop a marked individuality in men, and to bring about a social state which can be observed nowhere else in the United States.

In November, 1761, at a session of the Superior Court held in Bristol, a bill of indictment was found against Simeon Potter, for an assault made upon the Rev. John Usher. In consequence thereof a verdict was found against him, and he was fined £500.* Of the cause of his trouble with Mr. Usher we know nothing. Possibly a glance at the characters

* This fine was not as large as it now seems to have been. A Spanish milled dollar at that time was worth £6, 10s. in Rhode Island paper money.

of the two men may give us a clew. Mr. Usher was essentially an aristocrat in his sympathies, the son of a man who had held an important office in the colonies: he also held the extreme ideas of the supremacy of his profession which prevailed in the early days of the settlement of New England. From all the members of his parish he required a degree of deference which Captain Potter, who was of humble origin and a thorough democrat in his views, with all his attachment to the Church of England, was by no means inclined to yield. The conflict between the two imperious wills must have been a very bitter one. Possibly the layman was faring the worse in the encounter, for, meeting his pastor upon the street one day, he paused not for further discussion, but immediately knocked him down, with the disastrous pecuniary result which has just been mentioned. Captain Potter could be extremely generous when his sympathies were thoroughly enlisted, as his many gifts to St. Michael's Church in later years testify, but ordinarily he was rather careful of his money, and the result of this trial was bitter indeed.* Whatever the trouble was, it did not prevent Mr. Potter from becoming a firm friend and supporter of the Rev. John Usher, Jr., in the latter part of his life.

Into the contest which resulted in the independence of the American Colonies, Simeon Potter at first plunged with all the ardor of his nature. His participation in the destruction of the "Gaspee" has been already detailed. For several years before the war began he had been a member of the General Assembly, and his fellow-members were so impressed by his ability and zeal, that when the office of Major-General of the forces of the colony was created, in December, 1774, he was the first man chosen to fill the position. His conduct during the bombardment of the town shows that he had then lost none of the intrepidity of his youth, but from some un-

* On one occasion a young nephew, upon whom fortune had not then smiled, was talking with Mr. Potter and bewailing his apparent lack of success in life. "How, Captain Potter," said he, "shall I go to work to make some money?" "Make money! make money!" was the reply, "I would plow the ocean into pea-porridge to make money."

known reason his zeal appears to have waned as the war went on. The records indicate that he had no share in it, and that he soon ceased to take any active part in the affairs of the town and State.

In 1776 he was chosen one of the Governor's Assistants, but at many of the sessions of the Assembly he did not present himself at all. At the December session a vote was passed requesting him to render his reasons for so absenting himself, and asking him to give his attendance at the next session. In March, 1777, the committee appointed to assess a tax upon the inhabitants of the State estimated the taxable valuation of Bristol at £50,000. Warren was valued at £20,000, and Barrington at £22,575.* Against the report of the committee, Mr. Potter entered the following protest:—

"I, the subscriber, do beg leave to protest against the estimate, as now apportioned by the committee for that purpose; it appearing to me that there is a manifest error, as it is evident from the present distressed situation of the town of Bristol, it is estimated at too high a value; the inhabitants being removed by reason of the troops being barracked in their houses, and no trade or business of any kind being by them done; they being under the disagreeable necessity and the expense of removing their families and effects, and hiring abroad places for their families to reside in; the rivers and bays being by the Author of Universal nature so situated, that the ships of war of his Britannic Majesty, and the tenders belonging to the same, can at all times harass them, and keep the inhabitants from their lawful employments, unless the same standing force should be kept up, which at all times (while they are there stationed) renders their houses and estates to them in a great measure useless.

"Under all these disadvantageous circumstances, it appears to me, and I think must to every reasonable member, that the said town is not able at present to pay so large a tax as either of the towns of Warren or Barrington: on these considerations it is, that I as an inhabitant of this town, and a member chosen by the free suffrages of the same, and the state in general,† to sit here to see justice impartially administered, do protest in solemn form against the said apportionment.

SIMEON POTTER.

PROVIDENCE, March 8, 1777."

* In 1776 the population of Bristol was 1,067; of Warren, 1,005; of Barrington, 538.

† Under the old charter the assistants, who came afterward to be called senators, were chosen by the whole State, and not by particular towns.

His name appears for the last time in the colonial records in the bills ordered to be paid at this same session.

"Simeon Potter, for three whale-boats, taken by order of General West and Colonel Richmond, for the troops to go upon Prudence, at the time it was attacked by Wallace; for two whale-boats taken by order of Governor Bradford, to go upon Hog Island, to take off stock &c.; for cordage delivered to William Throop, by Governor Bradford's order, and for the use of his careening fall to draw cannon &c £33, 4s. 6d."

At a town-meeting, May 14, 1777, Colonel Potter was chosen Moderator, but after the usual officers were elected, he "withdrew and refused to attend the meeting any longer." A tax-collector's account was thereupon presented, which showed that he had neglected to pay all his taxes. From this date until May 10, 1780, his name disappears from the records. At that meeting it was voted: "That the Assessors make enquiry and make report to the town at the adjournment of the meeting, what part of Colonel Simeon Potter's rates remain unpaid, and that Mr. Smith, the collector, be desired to apply to the Assessors of the town of Swansea, to know at what time said Potter began to pay taxes in said town and what part of his personal estate has been rated from time to time in said town." He had taken up his residence in Swansea, though he still maintained a household in Bristol. (Until 1775 he had lived in the house in which he had been born. After it was burnt by British troops, he went to live in the old house which stands on the west side of Thames Street, about half way between Bradford and State streets.)

While he ceased henceforth to participate in town affairs, he yet continued to retain his interest in St. Michael's Church. In 1792 the vote of thanks, of which mention has been made in a previous chapter, was passed, and in 1793 his name again appears in the list of vestrymen, which list it continues to head from that year until the year of his death. He died Feb. 20, 1806, aged eighty-six years. Colonel Potter, though twice married, left no descendants. By his will,* his large

* A small farm in Swansea was by this will given to one of his slaves, in the possession of whose heirs it still remains.

estate was divided among his nine sisters and their descendants, though not in equal portions. At his death it was valued at about a quarter of a million, but among the assets were included very many notes and bills which proved to be entirely worthless, and the amount which was finally divided among his heirs did not reach one-half of the original estimate.

From his house on Thames Street, the old captain was borne to his last resting-place in the burying-ground upon the Common. Full of strife and tumults was the century in which his manhood was spent: stormy and passionate his own career had been. He was, perhaps, the last survivor of the old sea-captains who, as English subjects, had sailed out from Narragansett Bay during the first half of the eighteenth century, to make war upon the enemies of Great Britain. Wonderful had seemed the wealth which he had thus acquired. But among those who crowded about his bier and silently joined in the long funeral procession, were men who would ere long sail forth from the harbor of Bristol in a little vessel that was destined to collect from the merchants of England, a tribute many times exceeding that which he had exacted from England's foes.

CHAPTER XXV.

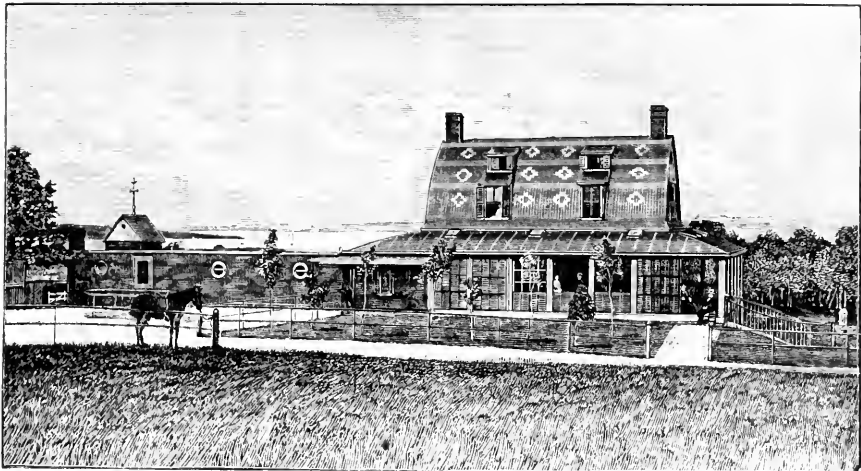
CENSUS STATISTICS FROM 1748 TO 1880.

THE census returns of the year 1748, the first taken after the town became a part of Rhode Island, show that Bristol had then a population of 1,069. For the convenience of the reader, the total population of the town at each census, from that year to the present time, is given in one chapter. The full returns of 1774 are also given. A glance at the names will reveal the immense difference between the population then and now. In that year almost all of the inhabitants, except the negroes, were native Americans; in 1875, 1,386, nearly one-fourth, and in 1880 ——— * were born in foreign lands. Some names of families prominent at that time cannot now be found in our directory, and yet a wonderfully large proportion of them are still heard upon the streets of the town. From the recapitulation of the returns for the whole State, the reader will be able to judge how great, and how entirely disproportionate to its size, was the influence which the little town exerted in the revolutionary times. A like study of each census would show that the town has always taken an unusually prominent part in state affairs.

POPULATION AT DIFFERENT DATES.

1748.....1,069	1790.....1,406	1830.....3,034	1865.....4,649
1755.....1,080	1800.....1,678	1840.....3,490	1870.....5,302
1774.....1,209	1810.....2,693	1850.....4,616	1875.....5,829
1776.....1,067	1820.....3,197	1860.....5,271	1880.....6,028
1782.....1,032			

* Returns not yet received.



Residence of A. E. Burnside, U. S. Senator.

The following table shows the rate per cent. of increase or decrease in the population in the several periods; the minus sign (—), indicates a decrease:—

1748-1774.....	13.1	1810-1820.....	18.7	1860-1865.....	—11.8
1774-1782.....	—14.6	1820-1830.....	— 5.1	1865-1870.....	14.
1782-1790.....	36.2	1830-1840.....	15.	1870-1875.....	9.9
1790-1800.....	19.3	1840-1850.....	32.3	1875-1880*.....	
1800-1810.....	60.5	1850-1860.....	14.2		

The number of colored persons in the town at different dates was as follows:—

1748....	128	1800.....	113	1840.....	171	1870.....	135
1774.....	114	1810.....	177	1850.....	200	1875.....	190
1782.....	76	1820.....	213	1860.....	234	1880*.....	
1790.....	108	1830.....	171	1865.....	145		

There were 13 Indians in Bristol in 1748, 16 in 1774, 2 in 1782.

* Returns not yet received; the blank is left that the reader may insert the figures at his own convenience.

CENSUS OF BRISTOL IN THE YEAR 1774.

FAMILIES.	WHITES.				Indians.	Blacks.	Total.
	MALES.		FEMALES.				
	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.			
Allen, Sarah . . . . .	..	1	2	2	..	..	5
Addie, Joseph	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Barrows, John	1	3	1	1	..	..	6
Burt, John	1	..	2	..	..	2	5
Bosworth, James	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Bradford, William	2	2	2	4	..	2	12
Bradford, Daniel	2	2	3	3	..	..	10
Bradford, Priscilla . . . . .	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Bosworth, Benjamin 3d	1	..	2	1	..	..	4
Bosworth, Benjamin	1	2	1	2	..	..	6
Bosworth, William	2	1	1	2	..	..	6
Bosworth, William Jr.	1	1	1	..	..	..	3
Blake, Ebenezer	1	3	2	1	..	..	7
Burr, Simon	1	3	1	3	..	..	8
Bullock, Lenox	1	1	1	3	..	..	6
Bourn, Shearjashub	3	2	2	..	..	3	10
Bourn, Shearjashub Jr.	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Church, Peter	1	2	1	1	..	1	6
Church, Nathaniel	2	..	1	..	..	..	3
Church, Unis . . . . .	..	..	1	4	..	..	5
Church, Samuel	1	4	2	2	..	..	9
Carey, Nathaniel	1	1	2	..	..	2	6
Cary, Ichabod . . . . .	..	..	..	..	7	..	7
Cob, Elizabeth . . . . .	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Clarke, Lemuel	2	1	3	..	..	6	12
Coomer, John	3	..	1	..	1	1	6
Cushing, Josiah	1	..	1	..	..	1	3
Champlin, Thomas	1	4	1	..	..	..	6
Chase, Isaac	2	1	3	2	..	..	8
Coggeshall, William	1	..	1	1	..	3	6
Coggeshall, Sarah . . . . .	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
Coggeshall, Newby	2	4	3	1	..	2	12
Coggeshall, George	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Christopher, William	2	2	2	3	..	..	9
Coxx, William Jr.	2	..	1	2	..	..	5
Diman, James	1	4	1	3	..	2	11
Diman, Jeremiah	3	1	2	1	..	..	7
Diman, Jonathan	2	..	1	2	..	..	5
Diman, Nathaniel	1	3	1	2	..	..	7
Diman, Joseph	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
DeWolf, Charles	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
DeWolf, Mark Anthony Jr.	1	..	1	..	..	2	4
Drown, Richard	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Drown, Solomon	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Drown, Jonathan	1	2	2	1	..	..	6
Eslich, Isaac	2	..	1	..	..	..	3
Eslich, Mary . . . . .	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Finney, Jeremiah	2	2	3	4	..	..	11
Finney, Josiah	1	2	2	5	..	1	11
Fales, Nathaniel	3	1	3	1	1	1	10
Fales, Timothy	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Fales, Nathaniel Jr.	1	..	1	1	..	1	4
Fales, Jonathan	2	..	2	..	..	..	4

CENSUS OF BRISTOL IN THE YEAR 1774.— *Continued.*

FAMILIES.	WHITES.				Indians.	Blacks.	Total.
	MALES.		FEMALES.				
	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.			
Gladding, John	4	..	2	1	..	..	7
Gladding, Daniel	1	..	1	2	..	..	4
Gladding, William	2	4	2	2	..	..	10
Gladding, John Jr.	2	5	1	2	..	..	10
Glover, John	3	1	3	..	2	1	10
Greene, Thomas, Farm Family, . . . . .	..	..	1	1	1	5	8
Gain, Andrew	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Gray, Thomas	1	3	2	2	..	..	8
Hough, Elizabeth . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Hill, Bernard	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Harding, William	1	5	1	2	..	..	9
Holmes, William	2	2	3	..	..	..	7
Howland, John	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Howland, John Jr.	2	5	1	3	..	..	11
Harscall, Mary . . . . .	..	..	2	..	..	3	5
Hubbard, John	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Hoar, William	2	..	4	..	..	..	6
Hogens, John	1	..	1	2	..	..	4
Ingraham, John	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Ingraham, John Jr.	3	5	1	2	..	..	11
Ingraham, Jeremiah	2	2	1	2	..	1	8
Ingraham, Timothy	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Ingraham, Joshua	1	..	2	4	..	2	9
Jolls, Robert	1	2	1	2	..	..	6
Jolls, Mehetabel . . . . .	..	..	2	..	..	5	7
Jolls, Ebenezer	1	2	1	..	..	..	4
Jolls, John	1	3	1	3	..	..	8
Kinnicutt, Sarah . . . . .	..	..	2	..	1	1	4
Lynsey, Joseph	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Lynsey, William	2	1	3	..	..	..	6
Lynsey, William Jr.	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Lynsey, Elizabeth . . . . .	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
Lamb, Sarah . . . . .	..	..	2	2	..	..	4
Lefavour, Daniel	2	..	1	..	..	1	4
Liscomb, Samuel	1	4	2	1	..	..	8
Lawless, William	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Munro, Bennet Jr.	1	..	2	..	..	..	3
Munro, Nathan	1	4	2	1	..	..	8
Munro, George	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
Munro, Mary . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Munro, William	1	1	3	2	..	3	10
Munro, Hezekiah	1	..	1	1	..	2	5
Munro, James	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
Munro, Stephen	3	1	1	2	..	1	8
Munro, Bennett	4	2	3	..	..	7	16
Munro, William 2d	1	1	1	4	..	..	7
Munro, Charles	2	1	1	..	..	..	4
Munro, Hannah	2	1	1	1	..	..	5
Munro, Edward	1	2	1	1	..	..	5
Munro, Nathaniel	2	2	1	2	..	..	7
Munro, Archibald	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Munro, Nathan 2d	3	1	1	5	..	..	10
Munro, Simeon	1	1	3	..	..	..	5
Munro, William 3d	1	2	1	..	..	..	4

CENSUS OF BRISTOL IN THE YEAR 1774.—*Continued.*

FAMILIES.	WHITES.				Indians.	Blacks.	Total.
	MALES.		FEMALES.				
	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.			
Manchester, Seabury	1	3	1	1	..	..	6
Manchester, Nathaniel	1	..	2	1	..	..	4
Maxfield, Daniel	2	2	2	2	..	..	8
Mingo, John . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
McCarty, William	1	..	1	2	..	..	4
McCarty, Margaret . . . . .	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
May, John	1	2	3	1	..	..	7
Martindale, Sion	2	..	2	3	..	..	7
Munday, Jonathan	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Morris, John	2	3	2	3	..	..	10
Newning, James	1	1	1	..	..	..	3
Oldridge, Joseph	1	1	2	..	..	..	4
Oldridge, Alletha . . . . .	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Oldridge, John	2	1	1	..	..	..	4
Oldridge, John 2d	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Oxx, Samuel	2	2	1	3	..	..	8
Oxx, George	1	1	1	3	..	..	6
Pearse, Nathaniel Jr.	2	..	2	..	..	1	5
Pearse, Richard	2	2	2	3	..	..	9
Pearse, William	2	4	4	1	..	3	14
Pearse, George	1	2	2	2	..	..	7
Pearse, Thomas	1	1	2	..	..	..	4
Pearse, Nathaniel	3	..	4	1	..	7	15
Peck, Jonathan	2	4	2	5	..	3	16
Peck, Loring	1	1	2	1	..	..	5
Paine, Mary	1	1	1	..	..	2	5
Pratt, John	3	1	1	1	..	..	6
Potter, Hopestill	3	..	1	1	..	..	5
Potter, Simeon	2	..	2	..	..	11	15
Phillips, Nathaniel	4	1	1	2	..	..	8
Richardson, David	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Read, Joseph	3	2	6	2	..	..	13
Reynolds, Joseph	2	2	5	1	..	4	14
Reynolds, Joseph Jr.	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Reynolds, Mercy . . . . .	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
Russell, Joseph	3	..	1	..	1	2	7
Rosbottom, Benjamin	1	..	1	..	..	3	5
Salsbery, Benjamin	2	..	1	..	..	..	3
Salsbery, Caleb	2	1	1	2	..	..	6
Salsbery, Levi	1	3	1	2	..	..	7
Salsbery, Bennet	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
Swan, Thomas	1	1	2	1	..	..	5
Sanford, Restcomb	3	..	2	3	..	..	8
Sanford, Josua	2	4	3	1	..	1	11
Smith, Nathaniel	2	1	1	1	..	1	6
Smith, Benjamin	3	1	2	1	..	..	7
Smith, John	1	2	1	2	..	..	6
Smith, Nathaniel	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Smith, Peter	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
Smith, James	3	1	2	3	..	..	9
Smith, Richard	3	1	2	1	..	..	7
Smith, Josiah	2	2	4	3	1	..	12
Smith, Stephen	4	..	1	5	..	..	12
Smith, John	1	..	3	4	2	..	10

CENSUS OF BRISTOL IN THE YEAR 1774.—*Continued.*

FAMILIES.	WHITES.				Indians.	Blacks.	Total.
	MALES.		FEMALES.				
	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.			
Smith, Samuel	1	3	3	2	..	..	9
Smith, Billings	1	2	1	5	..	..	9
Salbey, Edward	2	1	2	2	..	..	7
Thurber, Caleb	1	2	1	1	..	..	5
Throope, William	2	1	1	1	..	..	5
Throope, Esther . . . . .	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
Usher, John	1	..	2	..	..	1	4
Usher, John Jr.	2	2	3	2	..	..	9
Usher, Hezekiah	1	..	3	9	..	1	14
Usher, Allen	1	5	1	..	..	..	7
Van Doorn, Anthony	1	3	1	4	..	1	10
Walker, Patience . . . . .	..	..	3	..	..	1	4
West, William	2	2	1	2	..	..	6
West, Oliver	1	1	1	1	..	..	4
West, James	1	1	1	2	..	..	5
West, Samuel	1	3	2	..	..	..	6
West, John	3	2	2	1	..	..	8
Wardwell, Phebe	1	1	3	1	..	..	6
Wardwell, Joseph	1	2	1	2	..	..	6
Wardwell, Benjamin	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Wardwell, Isaac	1	1	2	2	..	..	6
Wardwell, Stephen	2	1	2	3	..	..	8
Wilson, William	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Wilson, John	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Wilson, Jeremiah	3	1	2	..	..	..	6
Wilson, Thomas	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
White, William	1	1	2	4	..	..	8
Woodbury, Lydia . . . . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Whitaker, Samuel	1	1	3	1	..	..	6
Waldron, John	1	1	1	1	..	2	6
Waldron, John 2d	2	1	2	..	..	2	7
Waldron, Cornelius	1	..	2	..	..	..	3
Waldron, Isaac	1	4	1	..	..	..	6
Waldron, Nathaniel	2	4	2	2	..	..	10
Waldron, Phebe	2	1	2	3	..	1	9
Young, Joyce . . . . .	..	1	1	1	..	..	3
	272	232	319	256	16	114	1,209

RECAPITULATION.

Whole number of Families,	197
Total Whites,	1,079
Grand Total,	1,209

RECAPITULATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONY OF
RHODE ISLAND, ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL CENSUS
TAKEN IN 1774.

	Families.	WHITES.				Total Whites.	Indians.	Blacks.	Total of Each Town.
		MALES.		FEMALES.					
		Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.				
Newport, . . .	1,590	2,100	1,558	2,624	1,635	7,917	46	1,246	9,208
Providence, . . .	655	1,219	850	1,049	832	3,950	68	303	4,321
Portsmouth, . . .	320	343	341	400	285	1,369	21	122	1,512
Warwick, . . .	353	569	512	615	465	2,161	88	89	2,438
Westerly, . . .	257	421	441	443	401	1,706	37	69	1,812
New Shoreham, . .	75	109	119	121	120	469	51	55	575
East Greenwich, . .	275	416	345	464	338	1,563	31	69	1,663
North Kingstown, .	361	538	497	595	552	2,182	79	211	2,472
South Kingstown, .	364	550	554	597	484	2,185	210	440	2,835
Jamestown, . . .	69	110	90	118	82	400	32	131	563
Smithfield, . . .	476	742	665	769	638	2,814	23	51	2,888
Scituate, . . .	564	909	879	933	817	3,538	8	55	3,601
Glocester, . . .	525	743	724	740	719	2,926		19	2,945
West Greenwich, . .	304	429	395	465	456	1,745		19	1,764
Charlestown, . . .	307	312	315	350	264	1,241	528	52	1,821
Coventry, . . .	274	474	555	493	470	1,992	11	20	2,023
Exeter, . . .	289	441	415	478	446	1,780	17	67	1,864
Middletown, . . .	123	210	179	259	156	804	13	64	881
Bristol, . . .	197	272	232	319	256	1,079	16	114	1,209
Tiverton, . . .	298	418	500	438	434	1,790	71	95	1,956
Warren, . . .	168	237	251	255	185	928	7	44	979
Little Compton, . .	218	304	254	382	220	1,160	25	47	1,232
Richmond, . . .	189	286	316	324	287	1,213	20	24	1,257
Cumberland, . . .	264	400	408	478	450	1,736	3	17	1,756
Cranston, . . .	340	476	399	517	390	1,782	19	60	1,861
Hopkinton, . . .	299	427	420	477	415	1,739	21	48	1,808
Johnston, . . .	167	242	227	254	234	957	9	65	1,031
No. Providence, . .	138	193	172	230	197	792	7	31	830
Barrington, . . .	91	142	118	162	120	542	18	41	601
	9,450	14,042	12,731	15,349	12,386	54,460	1,479	3,668	59,707

CHAPTER XXVI.

CORRESPONDENCE, ETC., BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

THE story of the "Boston Tea Party" is so familiar, and has been so often told, that even a slight account of it is as unnecessary as it would be out of place in these pages. The tea was thrown overboard from the ships in Boston Harbor on the night of December 16, 1773. On the sixteenth day of February, 1774, a meeting of the citizens of Bristol was called, to give expression to the sentiments of the town respecting the matter. This meeting was very fully attended. Simeon Potter was chosen Moderator. Letters relating to the subject, which had been received from the committees of correspondence in the towns of Boston and Newport, were read, and a committee, consisting of Joseph Russell, Nathaniel Fales, Simeon Potter, William Bradford, Shearjashub Bourne, Benjamin Bosworth and Joshua Ingraham, was appointed, to draw up a series of resolutions, to be presented for the approval of the town at a subsequent meeting.

At a town-meeting held February 28, 1774, the committee reported the following resolutions, which were adopted. A copy was ordered to be entered in the records and printed in the Newport *Mercury*: —

"*Resolved* 1st. — That our ancestors were neither Felons nor outlaws, but their emigration from their native land and all that was dear and valuable to them, was the effect of tyranny and oppression.

"2^{dly}. — That arriving in America and purchasing the Soil of the natives, who were sole Lords and Proprietors of it, they had a right of Jurisdiction Independent on the Parent State.

"3^{dly}. — That in their feeble State, being unable to support that Right, they put themselves under the allegiance and protection of the Crown

of England, who to encourage their perseverance in Subduing a wilderness, which has since been a great emolument to the British Crown, stipulated to secure their natural, civil and Religious rights, both to them and their posterity, by charter; concerning which the late Bishop of Salisbury, (Dr. Burnett,) was pleased to say that there was a greater Sacredness in the Charter of New England than in those of the Corporations of England, because those were only acts of grace, whereas the Charter of New England was a contract between the King and the first patentees.

“4^{thly}. — That our privileges have been invaded and several attempts made to deprive us of them, especially by a late act of Parliament empowering the East India Company to import tea subject to a duty, &c.; *it is therefore voted and resolved* that whoever shall be in any way aiding or assisting in landing, unloading, purchasing, vending or receiving any of the said tea or any other dutied tea, shall be decreed an enemy to his Country.

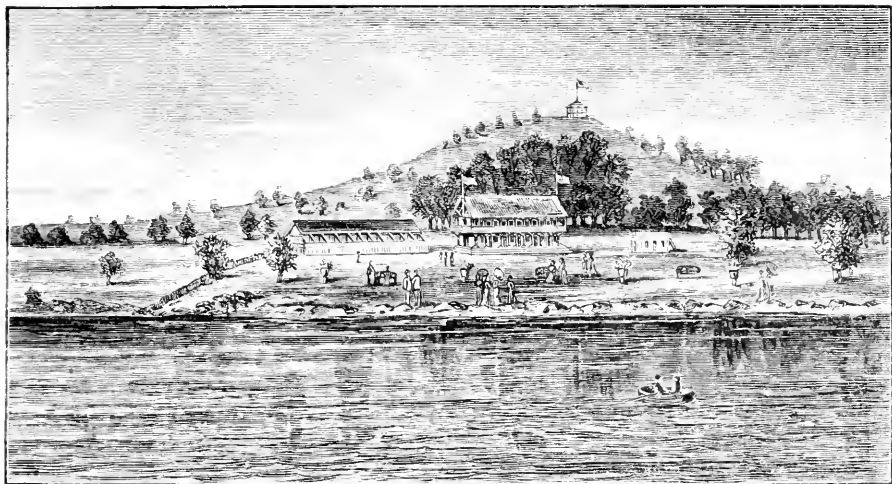
“5^{thly}. — Considering the vast amount of Territory, wealth and power that the plantations in North America are to the Crown of Great Britain, that it was obtained by our Ancestors without any expense to the Crown, with the toil of their lives and expense of their blood and treasure; Considering also our own exertions for the Crown in the late war, especially in the reduction of Louisberg, in the year 1745, which purchased a peace for the whole nation then involved in calamitous war, we say considering these things, to invade our privileges is the most cruel ingratitude, for although the Charges of that Expedition have been in part reimbursed by the Crown, yet what restitution has been or can be made for the flower of the land who were slain in battle, and the charges consequent thereon have been and still are a burden to this Town, as there are several of the widows of those who were either slain in battle or died in the service of their King and Country, who have been and still are supported by the Town.

“6^{thly}. — That to invade our privileges is as impolitic as it is cruel, as several millions of good Subjects are thereby disaffected, and may in time be provoked to renounce their allegiance and assert an independency.

“7^{thly}. — What makes our grievances the more intolerant is that so many unnecessary officers are supported by the earnings of honest Industry, in a life of dissipation and ease, who by being properly employed might be useful members of society.

“8^{thly}. — Instead of exploring another asylum, with the blood of our ancestors boiling in our veins, we are determined to join with our brethren on the Continent in all Lawful measures to Defend our rights and privileges in this good land which our fathers have transmitted to us, their posterity, as a token of their dearest affection.

“9^{thly}. — That whilst we assert our freedom, we would by no means deprive others of theirs, and that a difference in Sentiments under the influence of reason and virtue ought by no means to produce an aliena-



Mount Hope.

tion of affection, or interrupt a friendly Intercourse and mutual exchange of good offices.

“10^{thly}. — We apprehend that there is danger from another quarter generally unforeseen and unsuspected. That that anarchy and Confusion which seem to prevail, will as naturally establish tyranny and arbitrary power, as one extreme leads to another. Many on the side of Liberty, when they see it degenerating into anarchy, fearing that their persons are not safe nor their property secure, will be likely to verge to the other extreme, of which those that envy us our happiness and prosperity will avail themselves to carry their designs into execution. Our determinations therefore are as firm for the support of Government agreeable to our excellent Constitution, as for the defence of our own rights and privileges.

“11^{thly}. — That as we have hitherto approved ourselves Loyal subjects, so we take this opportunity to express our allegiance to our Gracious Sovereign George the third, and entire confidence in the rectitude of his intentions, being persuaded that if the wicked were taken from before the throne, an happy Era would commence, that our petitions would be heard and our complaints eased, that the Wisdom, Justice and Clemency of administration would conciliate the affection of the Colonies, which, under the smiles and protection of the parent state, by increasing in wealth and power would be a further addition to the Strength and Glory of Great Britain.

“Voted, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Towns of *Boston* and *Newport*, and the other patriotic towns on the Continent, for their virtuous and spirited opposition to the measures of administration.

and their noble exertions in defence of our invaluable rights and privileges.

“Voted, That the Clerk send copies of these resolves to the Committees of the towns of Boston and Newport, and procure them to be printed in the Newport Mercury.”

In a few days the following letter was dispatched to the Committee of Correspondence for Boston. The foregoing resolutions were enclosed in it : —

“Gentlemen : —

“BRISTOL, March 4th, 1774.

“We the Committee of Correspondence for this Town, are now to acknowledge the favor of your friendly letter of the first of Dec., and it is with great pleasure and satisfaction we review the noble, spirited, and undaunted Resolutions of Boston and places adjacent, and the patriotic measures by them adopted and carried into execution for the cause of liberty with so much perseverance and unanimity. Your assiduous and strenuous exertions in opposition to the base designs of a venal ministry to enslave a free people, will transmit your names with renown to the latest posterity. We sincerely unite with you in the common cause. You will have inclosed the Resolutions lately come into by this Town; we shall on all occasions cultivate a friendly correspondence and communication with you and all others that assert the same generous and disinterested principles of Liberty. It is evident the Ministry have long meditated a design of taxing America under the specious pretence of supporting Government, and thought by monopolizing the tea trade in the hands of the East India Company, the Revenue would be increased at pleasure, but happy for us the Poison was early discovered under that specious pretext.

“They have already tried if any advantage could be had by force of arms, and have no reason to be proud of the experiments.

“These are some of the sad effects of mistaken policy: they must have forgot that maxim in Politics, that the true art of Governing consists in not Governing too much.

“If anything should occur relative to the subject matter of our correspondence, we shall communicate by our Town Clerk, directed to yours. You will take the same method, if agreeable, in keeping up a correspondence with this Town.

“We are Gentlemen, with great esteem

“Your Friends and Humble Servants.

“JOS. RUSSELL, *Town Clerk.*

“Per order of the Committee of Bristol.”

The Boston Port Bill took effect June 1, 1774 : —

“At a town meeting held Sept. 19 1774, William Bradford Esquire was chosen Moderator. It was voted by said meeting, that a subscription be

immediately opened for the purposes mentioned in the warrant, to wit, for the relief of the poor distressed inhabitants of Boston, said subscription to be closed on the first day of November next."

The subscription list was kept in the office of the town clerk. The money raised was placed in the hands of William Bradford, and was by him forwarded to Boston. The following is a copy of the subscription paper:—

"We whose names are underwritten, Inhabitants of the Town of Bristol, do severally promise to pay to Joseph Russell Esq., the present Town Clerk, for the Town of Bristol, the several sums affixed to our names, for the support of the poor and distressed Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, said money to be sent to the Selectmen of the said Town of Boston, and by them to be used at their discretion, and said subscription to be closed on the first day of November, Anno 1774.

"BRISTOL, Sept. 19th, A. D. 1774."

LAWFUL MONEY.

£. s. d.	£. s. d.
William Bradford, . . . 6. 0. 0.	Simeon Bullock, . . . 0. 1. 0.
Daniel Bradford, . . . 1. 0. 0.	James Noonng, . . . 0. 3. 0.
Anthony Vandoorn, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Thomas Jethro, . . . 0. 1. 2.
Richard Smith, . . . 0. 6. 0.	N. Hix West, . . . 0. 3. 0.
John Howland, Jr., . . . 0. 6. 0.	William Coggeshall, . . . 1. 4. 0.
Jeremiah Ingraham, . . . 0. 15. 0.	Jeremiah Diman, . . . 0. 9. 0.
Benjamin Bosworth, . . . 0. 18. 0.	Hezekiah Usher, . . . 0. 12. 0.
Nathan Munro, . . . 0. 12. 0.	John Waldron, . . . 0. 18. 0.
Stephen Wardwell, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Simeon Potter, . . . 7. 4. 0.
Stephen Smith, . . . 0. 15. 0.	John May, . . . 0. 6. 0.
Jonathan Diman, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Jonathan Russell, . . . 0. 9. 0.
William Lindzey, Jr., . . . 0. 7. 6.	Nathaniel Smith, . . . 0. 6. 0.
Thomas Swan, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Charles Munro, . . . 0. 1. 6.
Joseph Wardwell, . . . 0. 6. 8.	Josiah Smith, . . . 0. 6. 0.
Josiah Finney, . . . 0. 12. 0.	Samuel Church, . . . 1. 6. 0.
Mark Anthony DeWolf, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Richard Pearse, . . . 0. 6. 0.
Lemuel Clark, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Benjamin Smith, . . . 0. 15. 0.
James Smith, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Daniel Lefavour, . . . 0. 6. 0.
Joseph Pratt, . . . 0. 3. 0.	Joseph Russell, . . . 1. 4. 0.
Peter Church, . . . 0. 18. 0.	John Howland, . . . 0. 6. 0.
John Norris, . . . 0. 6. 0.	Loring Peck, . . . 0. 12. 0.
William Pearse, . . . 0. 15. 0.	William Holmes, . . . 0. 6. 0.
James Munro, . . . 0. 4. 6.	Mary Paine, . . . 0. 6. 0.
John Glover, . . . 0. 12. 0.	William Munro, . . . 0. 18. 0.
Jonathan Glover, . . . 0. 4. 6.	John Coomer, . . . 0. 9. 0.
Joseph Diman, . . . 0. 3. 0.	William Throope, . . . 0. 7. 6.
Samuel West, . . . 0. 2. 4.	Jeremiah Finney, . . . 0. 12. 0.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Ebenezer Blake, . . .	0.	3.	0.	Jonathan Peck, . . .	1.	4.	0.
Thomas Peck, . . .	0.	3.	0.	Nathaniel Pearse, Jr., .	0.	6.	0.
Hezekiah Munro, . . .	0.	6.	0.	Joseph Lindzey, . . .	0.	6.	0.
Joseph Reynolds, . . .	0.	18.	0.	Joshua Sandford, . . .	0.	6.	0.
John Usher, . . .	0.	12.	0.	Nathaniel Pearse, . . .	0.	18.	0.
Nathaniel Cary, . . .	0.	18.	8.	Shearjashub Bourne, .	0.	18.	0.
John Burt, . . .	1.	0.	0.	Samuel Oxx, . . .	0.	6.	0.
Josiah Cushing, . . .	0.	6.	0.	Nathaniel Fales, . . .	1.	10.	0.
Nathaniel Fales, Jr., .	0.	12.	0.				
Samuel Throope, . . .	0.	6.	0.				
					48.	4.	4.

With the money, Mr. Bradford sent this letter : —

“ BRISTOL, R. I., 30th December, 1774.

“ *Gentlemen* : —

“ Agreeable to a vote of the Town of Bristol, appointing me to send you the money that should be raised in said Town, for the support of the distressed inhabitants of Boston, I now send you by Mr. Mumford, the small sum of forty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and six pence,* lawful money, to be by you disposed of for the purpose aforesaid, at your discretion, which was all that could be at this time collected. Should have been exceeding glad it had been more, but you may depend that all due care will be taken in this town from time to time, to afford you the relief your circumstances may require, and our abilities will afford, to enable you to hold out in so just a cause, against the combination of all wicked and mischievous beings, from the highest source of evil down to Lord North. That you may be so enabled to hold out, and be finally victorious over your and our enemies, shall be my constant care by all the industry in my power to contribute, as it will afford me the greatest pleasure on earth.

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your most humble servant

“ WILLIAM BRADFORD.

“ £47. 17s. 6d.

“ *To Samuel Adams, Esq., and others : the Committee for receiving the Donations for the Town of Boston.*”

In January the following answer was received : —

“ BOSTON, January 2d, 1775.

“ SIR: We are much obliged for your care in forwarding to the Committee of Donations, the generous subscriptions of our worthy brethren of Bristol, for the support of the distressed inhabitants of Boston, amounting to forty-seven pounds seventeen shillings and six pence,* pr. Mr.

* £48. 4s. 4d. were contributed. The small balance must have been expended in other ways.

Mumford. It shall be applied agreeable to the intent of the benevolent donors.

"Inclosed is a printed account of the general method observed by the Committee in the distribution of the charities of our friends, which we hope will prove satisfactory.

"The Committee present their sincere thanks in behalf of the Town of Boston, for this instance of their kindness, and are particularly obliged for their purpose to afford further relief in time to come, should the case require it.

"Our humble acknowledgments are due to God, who has raised up benefactors to this much abused and oppressed town. Under all our darkness some light hath been made to arise. We trust our Cause, which indeed is a common cause and of the greatest importance to America, is a righteous cause and that God will maintain it.

"If He shall please to grant us the Wisdom and Prudence, the Firmness, Help and Blessing we need, we shall put our enemies to shame, and in due time have cause to rejoice in this great Salvation.

"We are with great Respect

"Sir, Your much obliged and affectionate

"Friends and Fellow Countrymen

"DAVID JEFFRIES.

"Pr. order of the Committee of Donations."

"*Mr. William Bradford, at Bristol.*"

"In the Mass. Hist. Society archives the correspondence of the Boston committee with the contributors to the relief of the poor in that town in 1774-5 is preserved. From the letters that related to Rhode Island, it appears these donations were sent: Scituate 120 sheep, Gloucester 95, Smithfield 150, Johnston 57, East Greenwich 25 sheep and 4 oxen, Tiverton 72 sheep, S. Kingstown 135, Providence 136 and £51 in cash, Newport \$1000 or £300, Cranston 4 oxen, N. Kingstown 70 sheep, Bristol £48, Warwick 5 oxen, N. Providence £18. Total 860 sheep, 13 oxen, £417 in money. Little Compton sent £30, which does not appear in the correspondence: and there were several large subscriptions by private persons besides." *

A glance at the recapitulation of the census returns, given on page 192, will show how very generous was the contribution of Bristol.

* *Arnold's History of Rhode Island*, Vol. II, page 341.

The following communication from the *Providence Gazette* of Oct. 19, 1771, has been mentioned by many historians, and is now reprinted for the first time. It occasioned much discussion throughout the colony, but did not meet with much favor. The printer deemed it necessary to publish with it a slight apology for its introduction, and to promise the use of his columns for a reply. This was published a few days later, and very cleverly demolished the arguments brought forward : —

PROPOSALS FOR ALTERING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND.

“ It is a well-known truth, that Anarchy and Confusion are as dangerous to any society, as absolute Monarchy and despotism. This truth was never better experienced than under the several governments of Ancient Rome, and many other states, which have suffered the various changes of government. Intestine quarrels and divisions without a standing army, seldom fail of proving the downfall of every state in which they happen, unless in Subjection to some superior power, as is the case with the Colony of Rhode Island.

“ The greatest happiness that any state can enjoy, is to have its rights and privileges well secured; and there is no way whereby this can be done, but by conforming to a certain sett of laws and precepts, well adapted to the Constitution and nature of the Country, the state having power to put in execution those laws and precepts, without which they are of no efficacy or consequence whatsoever. If experience did not teach us the impossibility of putting good and wholesome laws in execution in this Colony, what may be said on this head might be justly censured; but since long and woful experience evinces the truth of the observation, I think it high time that some other plan of government was adopted, that we may have our lands, our goods, and whatever we hold near and dear, secured, and not have a party rabble run away with what we have procured, by our indefatigable industry, and hard fatigue.

“ The Colony of Rhode Island is too small and contracted, ever to prevent the confusion and dreadful consequences of an elective legislature. I need not mention the vast expense, as well as the loss of time, and corruption of morals which attend this method of election; and many other matters, fatal to common right. Again, it often happens in small states or commonwealths, where they are indulged with an elective legislature, that the Community are so divided in sentiment, with respect to those persons whom they esteem properly qualified to sustain the highest offices of the state, that that party which gains the majority by a single vote, has power to establish the greatest

Ignoramus at the head of Government, whereby the state may be greatly endangered, and exposed not only to the ridicule and derision of every policy, but also to final ruin and destruction.

“Since the truth of what I have preserved can not be denied, I would propose that this small colony, which is not larger than many of the Counties in other Colonies and Provinces of America, be divided; the one part ceded to Massachusetts, and the other half to Connecticut; that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of making the division, and negotiating whatever else may be necessary for the same; or else that they be directed to apply to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to appoint a Governor to preside in and over his Majesty’s English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

“Much more might be said on this subject, but every person that animadvert in the least on the proposition, cannot but discern the necessity of a change of government in this Colony.

“A FRIEND TO PROPERTY.”

BRISTOL, October 16 1771.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BOMBARDMENT.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 7th of October, 1775, the British war-vessels, which for some months had been stationed at Newport, left their anchorage, and, with a favoring breeze from the south, sailed leisurely up the bay. The fleet consisted of three ships of war, the "Rose," the "Glasgow," and the "Swan," one bomb-brig, a schooner, and some smaller vessels.* Capt. Sir James Wallace led the squadron, in the "Rose," his flag-ship. The wind died away as the vessels sailed onward, and it was almost sunset when they reached Bristol.

The news of their approach spread quickly through the town on the afternoon of that perfect autumnal day. The labors of the week were over, and the greater part of the population, suspecting no evil, assembled upon the wharves to gaze upon the unusual spectacle. Never has the harbor of the old town beheld a more striking display than was then presented. With sails that were only just distended by the dying breezes, the ships drifted slowly over the water that rippled with gentle murmurings about their bows. The rays of the setting sun tinged every mast, and sail, and rope with a golden light, making a scene of wondrous beauty, that never faded from the recollection of those who beheld it. Everything seemed to speak of peace, except the black mouths of the frown-

* The *Providence Gazette's* account says that the fleet consisted of the 'Rose,' the 'Glasgow,' and the 'Swan,' with several armed tenders and transports, in all, about fifteen sail." Arnold also says fifteen sail. The "Rose" was a frigate carrying twenty guns, the "Glasgow" carried twenty-four, the "Swan," twenty.

ing cannon that here and there lurked, as if forgotten, in the dark hulls of the larger ships.

Captain Wallace, in his flag-ship, anchored within a cable's length of what is now the Fall River steamboat wharf; the "Glasgow" dropped anchor a little further south. The other ship, attempting to take a position still further south, grounded on the "Middle Ground." The schooner ran up and took a position opposite to the Town-bridge, and within a pistol-shot of it, and not far from her the bomb-brig anchored. At eight o'clock a royal salute was fired from the flag-ship, and shortly after, a barge from the same vessel pulled in to the wharf where most of the principal men of the town were assembled. The commander of the barge, stepping upon the wharf, demanded to see some representative man of the town, and William Bradford went forward to meet him.

The lieutenant informed him Captain Wallace had a demand to make upon the town, and desired that two or three of the principal men, or magistrates of the town, would go on board of his ship within an hour and hear his proposals, otherwise hostilities would be commenced against the town. The above-named gentleman, as a magistrate, replied, that in his opinion Captain Wallace was under a greater obligation to come ashore and make his demands known to the town, than for a magistrate to go on board of his ship to hear them; and added, that if Captain Wallace would come to the head of the wharf the next morning he should be treated as a gentleman, and the town would consider his demands. With this answer the lieutenant returned on board the 'Rose.' The inhabitants, being made acquainted with the above conversation, repaired to the wharf, and waited with the utmost impatience for a reply from Captain Wallace till an hour had expired, when the whole fleet began a most heavy cannonading, and the bomb-vessel to bombard and heave shells and carcasses * into the town, which continued without intermission an hour and a half. In the meantime, Colonel Potter,

* Carcasses were hollow, oval vessels, bound together with iron hoops, and filled with all kinds of combustibles to set fire to buildings.

in the hottest of the fire, went upon the head of the wharf, hailed the 'Rose,' went on board, and requested a cessation of hostilities till the inhabitants might choose a committee to go on board and treat with Captain Wallace; which request was complied with, and six hours were allowed for the above purpose. Colonel Potter returned and made a report to the Committee of Inspection, who chose a select committee to hear Captain Wallace's demands; which, after they had gone on board, Captain Wallace informed them were a supply of two hundred sheep and thirty fat cattle. This demand, the committee replied, it was impossible to comply with, as the country people had come in and driven off their stock, save a sheep and some milch cows. After some hours had expired during negotiations, without coming to any agreement, Captain Wallace told them, 'I have this one proposal to make: If you will promise to supply me with forty sheep, at or before twelve o'clock, I will assure you that another gun shall not be discharged.' The committee, seeing themselves reduced to the distressing alternative, either to supply their most inveterate enemies with provisions, or to devote to the flames the town, with all the goods, besides near one hundred sick persons, who could not be removed without the utmost hazard of their lives: I say, seeing themselves reduced to this dreadful dilemma, of two evils reluctantly chose the least, by agreeing to supply them with forty sheep at the time appointed, which was punctually performed. . . . After the ships had received their supply, and stole about ninety sheep and some poultry from Popasquash, they weighed anchor and moored at Popasquash Point. The next day they went into Bristol Ferry-way and fired a number of shots at the houses and people on each shore. Three of their ships got aground, but the tide rising toward evening, they left and have not molested us since." *

* According to the *Providence Gazette*, the fleet "left Bristol harbor at 3 o'clock, Sunday, and lay some time between Poppasquash and Hog Island. At the last place they landed and cut up a quantity of corn. On Monday morning the 'Rose' and her tender ran aground on West Muscle-bed Shoal, Rhode Island side, and from thence were fired upon by minute men. . . . Several balls went through the ferry-house at Bristol."

The passage just quoted is taken from a letter written by LeBaron Bradford, a younger son of William Bradford, to correct an inaccurate account of the bombardment, which had appeared in the *Newport Mercury*. With it the account given in the "Annals of Bristol," a series of articles published thirty-five years ago in the *Bristol Phoenix*, agrees in all essential particulars. Mrs. Williams, in her *Life of General Barton*, gives a somewhat different version of the affair. According to Mrs. Williams, the sheep were collected together, but were not sent on board, and the British vessels were driven from their position by a battery of light artillery under the command of Captain Martin, of Seekonk. Her account is hardly worthy of belief. At a town-meeting held April 17, 1776, £10, 10s. were ordered to be paid to Captain Jonathan Peck "for 21 sheep delivered to Captain Wallace," and £9, 0s. 6d. to Benjamin Bosworth for nineteen sheep delivered to the same person.

The following poetic effusion was for a while exceedingly popular : —

THE BOMBARDMENT OF BRISTOL.

In seventeen hundred and seventy-five
Our Bristol town was much surprised
By a pack of thievish villains,
That will not work to earn their livings.

October, 't was the seventh day,
As I have heard the people say,
Wallace, his name be ever curst,
Came in our harbor just at dusk,

And there his ships did safely moor,
And quickly sent his barge on shore
With orders that should not be broke,
Or they might expect a smoke.

Demanding that the magistrates
Should quickly come on board his ships,
And let him have some sheep and cattle,
Or they might expect a battle.

At eight o'clock, by signal given,
Our peaceful atmosphere was riven
By British balls, both grape and round,
As plenty afterward were found.

But oh! to hear the doleful cries
Of people running for their lives!
Women, with children in their arms,
Running away to the farms.

With all their firing and their skill
They did not any person kill.
Neither was any person hurt
But the Reverend Parson Burt.

And, he was not killed by a ball,
As judged by jurors, one and all;
But being in a sickly state,
He frightened fell, which proved his fate.

Another truth to you I'll tell,
That you may see they levelled well:
For, aiming for to kill the people,
They fired their shot into a steeple.

They fired low, they fired high,
The women scream, the children cry;
And all their firing and their racket
Shot off the topmast of a packet.

Many incidents of the bombardment have been handed down to us. It seems probable that the object of Wallace was not to harm the town, but only to intimidate its inhabitants. The guns of the vessels were discharged at such an angle that most of their shot passed over the houses and landed in the rising ground behind the town. Some of the buildings, however, were pierced by the shot.* Among these was the Bosworth house, of which mention has been made in a former chapter. One of the balls struck a locust tree upon State Street, and glancing, entered the Walley house, where it was found in 1840, by some workmen who were repairing the ceiling. Another ball "entered Finney's distil-house, and passed through three hogsheads and barrels of rum, and spilt their contents;" more of a misfortune in those days than it would be deemed at the present time. A good sized grape-shot pierced the walls of Mr. Benjamin Smith's dwelling (on the west side of Hope Street, just north of Franklin), and passing over the bed in

* "The Church, the Meeting House, the Court House, and several dwellings were damaged." — *Providence Gazette*.

which his imbecile son lay sleeping, lodged in the fire-place, where it was allowed to remain for some time as a memento. A great gap was made in the stone wall near the residence of Governor Bradford (northeast corner of Hope and State), and while that gentleman was climbing the fence which separated his garden from his house, a frolicsome shot knocked into the air the board on which his hand had just rested. One man, drawing water from a well, was astonished to find the curb falling in splinters from the effects of another ball. Even at this day the rusty balls are occasionally turned out by the plowmen, as portions of the hill-sides that have been long uncultivated are once more prepared for the crops.

The consternation of the inhabitants during those weary hours cannot be described. The mood of nature itself was changed, and black storm-clouds took the place of the gorgeous skies of a few hours before. Through the darkness that was lighted only by the glare of the "carcasses" that the bomb-bri^g belched forth, the frightened people rushed onward to the remote farm-houses, which alone seemed to promise them safety. An unusually fatal epidemic* had been raging in the town for some weeks. William Bradford's wife had been carried to her grave only the day before, and three corpses were still lying unburied. But from their homes more than sixty of the sick were hurriedly brought forth on their couches by terror-stricken bearers, amid pitiless torrents of rain that enveloped them as with a winding-sheet. It is said that several afterwards died, as a result of this exposure.

And yet, strange to say, no one was struck that night by the flying missiles, and when in the morning the people gathered again in the houses, it seemed that all had been wonderfully preserved from death. But as the hour for morning service came, the congregation which for more than thirty

* The descriptions of the bombardment given in the newspapers of that day all make mention of this epidemic. From the *Providence Gazette* of September 30th, we learn what it was. In the account, which is given in that issue, of the funeral services of Mr. Bennett Munro, of Bristol (he died September 25th, aged sixty-seven, and was "followed to the grave by *thirteen* mournful sons and daughters"), we read that he died of dysentery, and that "*seventeen* have died there of that disease within a fortnight past."

years had listened to the godly admonitions of the Rev. John Burt, inquired in vain for its faithful pastor. For a long time he had been sick and feeble, and as the noise of the cannon was heard, and the shots went whistling through the air, with faltering steps he had tottered forth from his house, and joined the throng that was fleeing from the town. No one had spoken with him, no one had noticed him. Lying dead upon his face in the midst of a field of ripened corn, at last his people found him. No angry ball had mangled his frail body, but while he was wandering, weak and bewildered, the Angel of Death had met him, and with gentle hand had beckoned his eager spirit away from a world that seemed too full of woe.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BURNING.

On Sunday, May 25, 1778, at a little before daybreak, a band of 500 British and Hessian troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, landed on the shore of the farm on the west side of the town, which now belongs to the heirs of the late Samuel Martin. Proceeding across the fields in a northeasterly direction, they came out upon the main road very near the place where the residence of Mrs. Swett now stands. Thence marching northward, they entered Warren, leaving behind at Burr's Hill a small detachment to guard their rear. At Warren they quickly put to flight the small number of inhabitants who seemed inclined to dispute their march, disabled several pieces of cannon, and then hurried onward to the Kickemuit River. Here, at a point just below the present stone bridge, a large number of flat-boats had been collected by the Americans, with the design of making an expedition against the enemy. To destroy these boats was the special object of the British forces. The troops piled seventy or more of them together and burnt them. They also burnt the row-galley, "Washington," and a grist-mill. Returning to Warren they blew up the powder magazine, set fire to the Baptist Church, the Baptist parsonage, and several other buildings, and having pillaged many houses and taken many prisoners, proceeded by the main road to Bristol. On their route through Warren, to and from the river, they passed through Main and Market streets.*

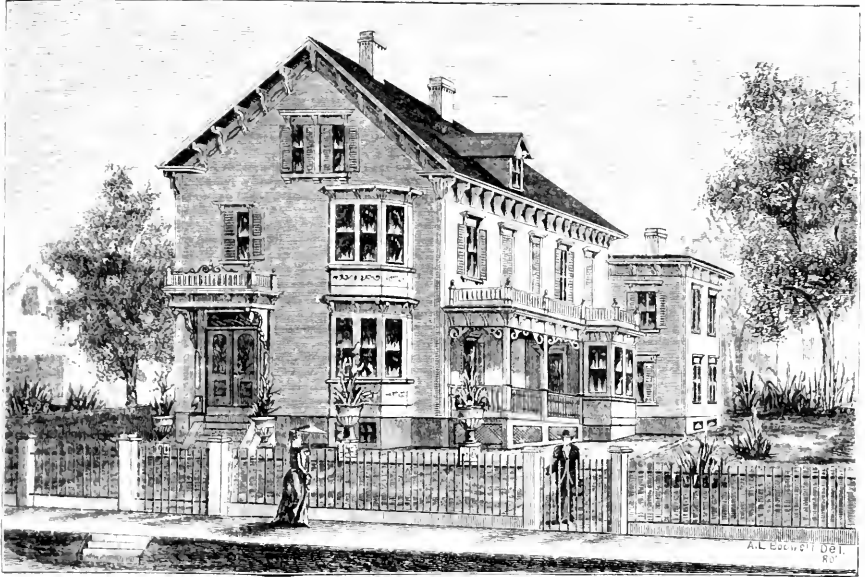
* "Aged people, still living among us, well remember the appearance of these soldiers as they passed through the town. The British were dressed in old-fashioned

"At Burr's Hill were two or three houses, as there are at the present time. In one of these houses Richard Smith, Esq., Sheriff of the County, had taken up his residence, removing from the compact part of the town after the bombardment. When the troops passed up, his wife, known to many now living as 'Aunt Susie Smith,' took the alarm, and gathering their valuables together, packed them in a chest, and buried them in a smoke-house in the rear. Two of the soldiers visited the house, and were given some breakfast. As they left the table, one of them seized the silver teapot, saying he was going to have that. Mrs. Smith, who was a little woman, but very smart, also seized hold of the teapot, saying he should not have it. After quite a severe struggle, during which Mrs. Smith plied her tongue with great vigor, the soldiers retreated from the house, and the teapot remained with its owner." *

As the soldiers marched along the main road, small squads were sent out from time to time, to visit the farm-houses which stood back from the road, and many farmers were thus taken prisoners. Among those captured were John Coomer, Jonathan Peck and his negro man Nero, Loring Peck, and Peter Church, the father of the Peter Church of the present day, who still lives upon the ancestral farm. As the troops approached the house of Joseph Reynolds (at present the home of his great-grandson, Samuel G. Reynolds), all the family, with the exception of Mr. Reynolds him-

red coats, cocked hats and small clothes, with a great display of laced trimmings, shoe and knee buckles. The Hessians wore enormous fur caps, and large, wide, and loose boots, into which they thrust all kinds of articles pilfered from the houses; and these articles hanging over the tops of their boots, gave them a singularly grotesque appearance as they left the town. A lady now living, and several others, were at the time in the house which was afterwards Bradshaw's bake-house, on the east side of Main Street. They saw the troops pass by in hasty retreat, and at a short distance in the rear a single individual, encumbered with a big drum, unable to keep up with the main body. These heroic women ran out and surrounded him, and told him he was their prisoner, when he immediately surrendered, saying he was glad of it, for he was faint and tired. This prisoner was afterwards exchanged for one of the citizens of Warren." — *Fessenden's History of Warren*, page 94, *Note*.

* From an article in the *Bristol Phenix*, published on the one hundredth anniversary of the burning of the town.



Residence of Mr. Frederick A. Easterbrooks.

self, who was suffering from a severe attack of rheumatism, left the house and took refuge in a building which stood near the mill, at a considerable distance from the house. The officer in command of the detachment which visited this building was very gentlemanly in his behavior, and did not allow his men to molest in any way those who had fled thither. Among these fugitives was a slave, named Cato, whose inflammable nature was so stirred up by the excitement which the occasion produced, that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was prevented from discharging his musket at the soldiers as they marched away. Not as considerate as his subordinate, was the officer in command of the main body, for Mr. Reynolds was forced to leave his sick-room and accompany the troops to Newport, whence, however, he came back not many days after, having been exchanged.

Colonel Campbell had been directed not to attempt to force an entrance into Bristol, if he should find any troops

drawn up to oppose him. When, therefore, the column reached the road leading to Poppasquash, a halt was commanded, and scouts were sent forward to reconnoitre. At this crisis an aged woman was discovered hastily removing from a wall some garments which had been placed there to dry. Her the scouts seized, and threatened they would take as a prisoner to Newport, unless she informed them of the number and location of the American troops, and the situation of the leading houses. The terrified woman quickly gave the desired information, and the British commander, finding no enemy to oppose him, marched down through Hope Street.

The American forces in the town at the time numbered about three hundred men. They consisted of a portion of a regiment of militia, under command of Col. Nathaniel Cary, and Capt. Nathaniel Pearse's company of artillery.* The militia were quartered in various houses on Hope Street: the headquarters of the artillery were at the south corner of Hope and Burton streets. When the alarm was given the militia were hurriedly drawn up on State Street, in the rear of the Court House, and the artillery formed in line upon Burton Street. As is usual in such cases, the number of the attacking party was grossly exaggerated by those who brought the news of their approach to Colonel Cary, and with his small force he did not deem it advisable to oppose them. He therefore marched his men out of the town, going by the Mount Lane to the Back road. The town was thus placed at the disposal of the English.

At the "Parson Burt House," which stood near the spot where Mr. Thomas-J. Usher's house now stands, the work of destruction began. Until his death, three years before, Parson Burt had been a most zealous patriot, and seems specially to have incurred the enmity of the British by his bold and scathing denunciations of the course pursued by the English

* In January, 1776, by order of the Legislature, "artillery companies, with two field-pieces and fourteen men each, were formed in all the seaboard towns, seventeen in number."

Government. To the house in which he had lived, and in which his family were supposed to be living, the torch was first applied. With the two barns which stood near it, it was entirely consumed. Parson Burt's family were not living in the house at the time, however. At his death they had removed to a house which stood north of his old dwelling and considerably back from the street. Thus they were not harmed by the fire. Mr. Burt's house was occupied at the time by a man named Wilkins. Opposite it was the one-story cottage of William Christopher, a Scotchman whose wife had died some months before. Mr. Christopher was away upon Pop-pasquash, with the troops guarding the barracks, and his four children were left alone in the house. When the soldiers entered, to plunder it and set it on fire, the three elder girls huddled together, almost beside themselves from fright. But the motherless babe, who was held in the arms of her eldest sister, knew no fear; as the brilliant uniforms and glancing weapons approached, the little one stretched out her hands and smiled upon the officer in command. The smile went straight to the soldier's heart, and taking the child in his arms he asked her name. He was told that it was Mary. "That is the name of my mother and sister; we are not sent here to destroy innocent children, and, God help me! I will not," he said, and turning about, left the house unharmed.

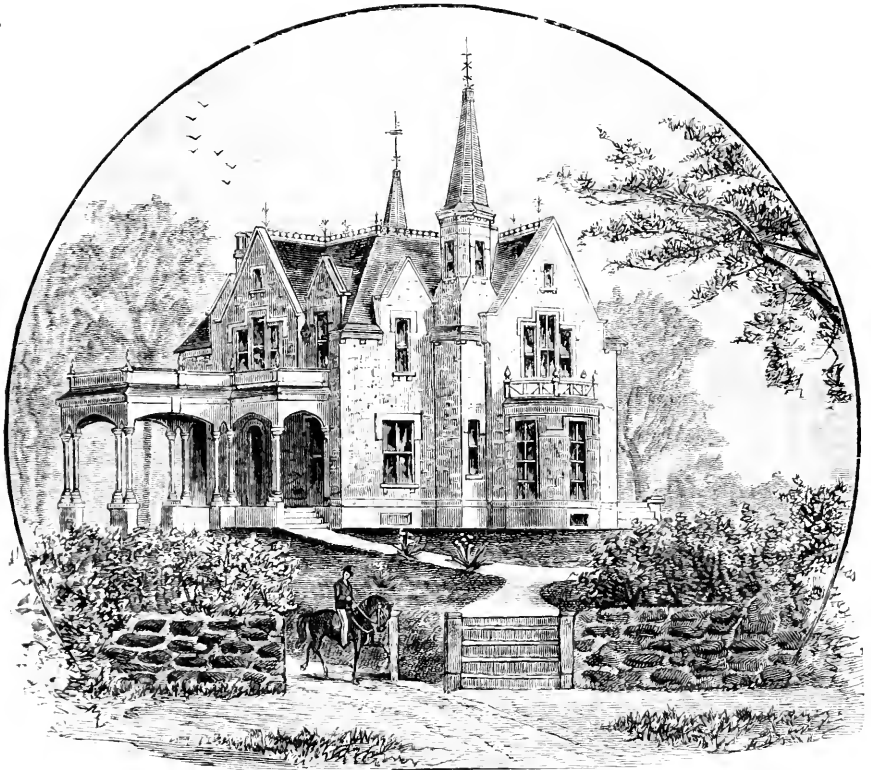
Next south of Parson Burt's house was the dwelling of Dr. Richmond; this was burned, as was also Dr. Aaron Bourne's house, which stood on the corner where the rectory of Trinity Church now stands. In the possession of Doctor Bourne was a large amount of Continental paper money. When the approach of the troops was proclaimed, the family, fearing robbery but never dreaming of anything worse, hid the money in the garret, tucking it away behind the rafters. It was burned with the house. The subsequent depreciation in the value of the Continental currency did much to reconcile Doctor Bourne to his loss. At this corner a few royalists had prepared a cask of punch with which to welcome their friends, but the troops had stern business before them, and a well-

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directed kick from an officer's foot sent the liquor trickling down the street. On the west side of Hope Street, upon the lot where the Boston Store now stands, was the dwelling of a Mrs. Woodbury. This was set on fire. No water could be procured, but the women of the house, coming to its rescue from the dairy with large milk-pans full of milk, succeeded in extinguishing the flames. When the building was torn down in 1858, the scars which the fire had made were once more brought to light. Between Bradford and State streets, on the west side of Hope Street, were three small buildings, — a blacksmith's shop, a carriage-house, and a store-house. These were burned, as was also the dwelling of William Coxx (on the site of Mr. Farrington's store), and Stephen Smith's house, on the northwest corner of State and Hope streets. On the northeast corner of these streets was the residence of Deputy-Governor William Bradford. It was, of course, destroyed.* On State Street the troops turned aside to fire the house of Anthony Van Doorn, next west of Stephen Smith's house.

In the house of Hezekiah Usher, southeast corner of Hope and State, many women and children were gathered. The owner of the house was a Tory, and the neighbors thought that it at least would be spared. Into it some of the soldiers at first went without their officers, but at the sound of the shrieks which greeted their rude entrance, a lieutenant came to the relief of the terrified women, and protected them from further violence. They were conducted to a place of safety, but the house was burned. Thence south, all the houses on the east side as far as Church Street, — Nathaniel Smith's, John Waldron's, the house belonging to the heirs of William Wardwell on the north corner of Court Street, Hopestill Potter's on the south corner, and the Oxx house near Church Street, were set on fire. Of these the Oxx house alone was saved. Jonathan Fales' house, on Church Street, near Hope,

* When the house was fired, one of Mr. Bradford's negro servants was about sitting down to his dinner. With his frying-pan in his hand he ran to the East Burying-Ground, and there having seated himself upon a tombstone, calmly proceeded to finish his meal.



Residence of Mr. Augustus O. Bourn.

was also destroyed. On the southwest corner of State Street, James Smith's house was burned. Between this house and the Episcopal Church there were no buildings. The particulars of the destruction of St. Michael's Church have been already given on page 152. There were no buildings upon the west side, between Church and Constitution streets. William Munro's house, which stood near where Mr. Brunsen's house now stands, was the last burned on that side. Going south from Church Street, the soldiers burned Col. Simeon Potter's house, southeast corner of Church and Hope, Thomas Martin's on the south corner of Byfield Street, Samuel Liscomb's (not far from Mr. Frederick A. Easterbrooks'

house), and Mark Anthony DeWolf's house on south corner of Burton Street. This last house was used as the headquarters of the artillery company. It was one of the oldest houses in the town, and was built by Stephen Burton, one of the Four Proprietors.

About thirty buildings in all (the Episcopal Church, nineteen dwelling-houses, and some smaller buildings), were entirely destroyed before the troops re-embarked upon their boats. The houses burned were either used as barracks or were the homes of prominent rebels. Thirty or more of the citizens were carried away as prisoners. Among these was Hezekiah Usher. It is related that when the troops reached the corner of State Street, their commander was addressed in a rather pompous manner by a gentleman, with the salutation, "I am a friend of the king." "You are just the man we want. Fall in!" was the reply, and he was carried away captive. Perhaps this may have been Mr. Usher. While the other prisoners were sent at once on board a prison-ship, he was allowed to go at large on parole, through the kind exertions of Governor Wanton in his behalf. Many of the slaves were also carried to Newport, and it is said that they were treated with greater severity than were their masters. Captain Westcott and nine privates, who had been stationed at Poppasquash, were taken by a boat's crew which the British sent thither to surprise them.

By the time the retreating column reached the Ferry road the Americans had rallied, and had begun to attack them from behind. A platoon of prisoners was therefore formed in the rear of the soldiers to protect them. This measure furnished a very effectual relief, and probably saved many lives. When the troops landed, an express had been sent by the Americans to General Sullivan, at Providence, to apprise him of the attack and to implore aid. Colonel Barton, with about twenty horsemen, at once set off to harass the enemy and to detain them until the main body should arrive. Having collected two hundred or more volunteers upon the way he attacked the foe near Bristol Ferry, and was severely wounded in the

thigh. The British loss in this skirmish was never ascertained, but it was supposed to be considerable, as much blood was found upon the road along which they passed. The Americans had four men wounded.

The lot of the captives on board of the prison-ship was wretched in the extreme. Among them was William Gladding, the miller, whose grist-mill stood on the point at the west end of Hope Street, which is almost opposite the residence of Mr. A. O. Bourn. "One day, after they had been there some two weeks, Col. Peter Church, who found it hard to get along with such fare, addressing Mr. Gladding, who was quite an old man, asked: 'How long, do you think, Mr. Gladding, before we shall be released?' Mr. Gladding, who was somewhat noted for his jokes, replied, 'I hope not soon.' Colonel Church, surprised at his reply, said, 'Why do you say so, Mr. Gladding?' when the latter answered, 'Because all my life I have been wanting to see rich and poor on the same footing, and all fare alike, and we have it here.' This 'communistic' reply caused a hearty laugh."*

Varying accounts have been written concerning the treatment which the inhabitants received at the hands of the marauders. Mrs. Williams, in her *Life of General Barton*, gives free reins to her imagination in the following passage. "The inhabitants were plundered of everything valuable they (the British) could lay hands on. The females even had their clothes taken — all that were deemed of sufficient value to carry away — and their rings forced from their fingers. Even the colored women were commanded to deliver up theirs, mostly brass. So grasping were these robbers that the papers of that day state that they carried away a cargo of brass ornaments plundered from the servants of the different families."† The conduct of the common soldiers was undoubtedly rude, and even brutal, but the officers seem to have done all that was in their power to restrain their excesses. Of the truth of

* *Phenix* article.

† *Life of General Barton*, page 74. The account, given on the next page of the same book, of the treatment which Mrs. Usher received, is grossly exaggerated.

this statement many traditions bear witness. "At the north-east corner of Hope and Union streets stood the house of William Hoar. Two or three soldiers entered the house. One of them seized a string of gold beads that were about the neck of a young woman. The string was broken, and the beads rolled upon the floor. While the scramble was going on for the beads an officer entered and, learning what had been done, kicked the soldier out of the house and apologized for his rudeness." *

* *Phenix* article.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

1720-1880.

ON the 22d of September, 1720, the first day of October was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer by the church in Bristol, in view of the unhappy condition into which it had fallen by reason of the controversy concerning Mr. McSparran. Very many ministers from the neighboring town were present by invitation on the day appointed for the special services, and through their wise counsels unity was once more secured to the divided church.

Dec. 22, 1720, on the one hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, the church chose the Rev. Nathaniel Cotton to be its pastor. The town ratified the choice in the succeeding January, voted Mr. Cotton £100 towards the expenses of his settlement, and a salary of £100 per annum, and the "strangers' contribution." At a subsequent meeting, the "improvement of the ministry lands" was bestowed upon him. Aug. 31, 1721, he was duly ordained as pastor, the Rev. Joseph Belcher,* of Dedham, preaching the ordination sermon.

Nathaniel Cotton was descended from the Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, who came from England to this country in 1633. His father was the Rev. Roland Cotton, of Sandwich; his mother was Elizabeth, the only daughter of Nathaniel

* A portrait of Mr. Belcher may now be seen in the cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Saltonstall, of Haverhill. He was born at Sandwich, Mass., June 17, 1698, and graduated at Harvard College in 1717. He was but twenty-three years of age when he came to this town,—too young a man, it would seem, to direct the church in those days of violent disputes. Notwithstanding his youth, his ministry appears to have been most successful. Over one hundred baptisms were reported during his term of office, and the meeting-house was thoroughly repaired and greatly improved. Not long after his settlement in Bristol, he married the widow of William Sanford, of Newport, by whom he had eight children, four sons and four daughters. The labors of his office soon proved too much for the strength of the young pastor. He died July 3, 1729. Of him Mr. Burt says: "He was a man of flaming zeal and undissembled piety, of singular prudence, of admirable patience, and for the cause of Truth and Righteousness he was as bold as a lion." *

"Shortly after the decease of Mr. Cotton, the church and town, with a remarkable degree of unanimity, united in calling the Rev. Barnabas Taylor, voting him two hundred pounds for settlement, and a yearly salary of one hundred and forty pounds, together with the use or income of the Ministry lands, and the strangers' contribution. The call was accepted, and he was duly installed the Fourth Pastor, 1729, December 25th. There are no church records during this ministry, and we have no means of knowing any fruits of his labors. Mr. Burt says, 'he was much admired at first;' but for some cause, respecting which the record is silent, he failed to give satisfaction, and, by the advice of an Ecclesiastical Council, was dismissed 1740, June 3d." † Mr. Taylor was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1721. After his dismissal from the church he devoted himself to the work of teaching. It was during his pastorate that that fearful disease, the "throat distemper," swept along

* Mr. Cotton's three brothers, John, Josiah, and Ward, were all graduates of Harvard College, and all Congregational ministers. Josiah Cotton was for several years pastor of the Beneficent Congregational Church of Providence.

† Rev. Mr. Lane's *Manual*, page 119.

the Atlantic coast. "It was the greatest scourge ever known in New England, and was especially fatal to children. It is described as a 'swelled throat, with white or ash-colored specks, an efflorescence on the skin, great debility of the whole system, and a strong tendency to putridity.' " *

In the year 1736 more than thirty children died in Bristol of this disease. One of the stones in the East Burying-Ground commemorates "six children of Deacon Benjamin Cary and Mrs. Susanna his wife, who all died of the throat distemper within the space of one month, anno 1736."

Mr. Taylor's successor was the Rev. John Burt, ordained May 13, 1741. Mr. Burt was a native of Boston, born in 1716. He graduated at Harvard in 1736. When he assumed the charge of the church, it numbered 77 members, — 28 men and 49 women. During his thirty-four years of service, "65 were admitted to the full communion, 118 consented to the covenant commonly called the 'half-way covenant,' by virtue of which they were permitted to present their children in baptism, but not to partake of the Lord's Supper (this plan of admission to partial ordinances was abolished by vote of the church at the settlement of the Rev. Henry Wight), and 526 persons were baptized." †

At his coming Mr. Burt found that the church records which his predecessors had left, were exceedingly meagre. With a just sense of the rights of posterity in this regard, he wrote, from the information then at his command, a very concise account of the past history of his charge, and a sketch of its condition as he found it. With this account he prefaced the records, which he kept with much fullness and accuracy during his whole life. It is this account which has been so often quoted in these pages. The tragic death of Mr. Burt, on the 7th of October, 1775, has been already described; the subsequent burning of his house by the British troops, May 25, 1778, has also been mentioned. During his ministry the town was annexed to Rhode Island, and he was conse-

* *Arnold's Rhode Island*, Vol. II., page 116.

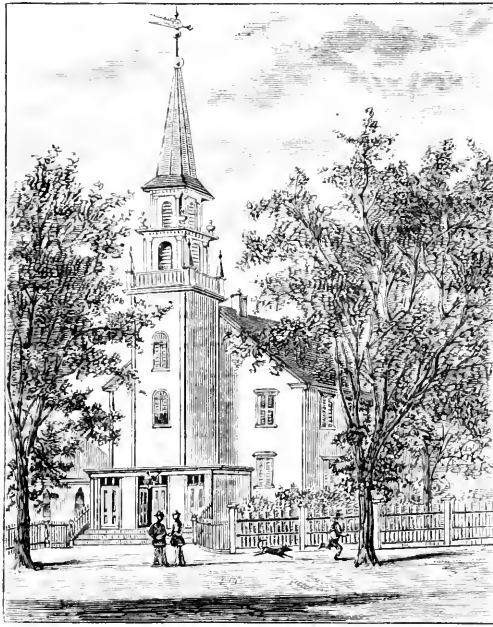
† Dr. Shepard's *Historical Discourse*.

quently the last minister of the Congregational Church who was settled by vote of the town. His salary, voted in town-meeting, Jan. 5, 1740-41, * was £250 in silver money, at 28 shillings per ounce, or its equivalent in paper currency, the "strangers' contribution," and the improvement of the parsonage-house and ministry lands.

The shadow of the coming Revolution disturbed the pleasant relations which for many years had existed between Mr. Burt and the venerable rector of St. Michael's Church. Mr. Usher was a staunch royalist. In his public addresses he counseled passive obedience and non-resistance, arguing that "the powers that be are ordained of God." If tradition is to be believed, Mr. Burt responded to these utterances in words of great force and vigor. Of the sentiments which Mr. Usher proclaimed, he said, "it is a damnable doctrine, and none but fools will believe it."

During the dark days which followed the death of Mr. Burt no effort was made to secure a settled pastor for the church. Any attempt of the kind would have been almost entirely useless. Many of the congregation had left the town, and those who remained were so cramped in means that they could not contribute anything toward the support of a minister. When life came back to the place, at the close of the war, active measures were at once taken to infuse new vigor into the church. In 1783 a subscription for a permanent fund, "the annual interest of which to be appropriated for the support of an Orthodox Congregational Minister," was started. Oct. 4, 1784, a charter was granted by the Legislature of Rhode Island, to the "Catholic Congregational Society, of Bristol, R. I.," "for the purpose of raising a fund by free and voluntary subscriptions, contributions, legacies and donations, for the support of public worship in the Congregational Society in the town of Bristol, of which the Rev. John Burt was the late Pastor."

* Hereafter, the dates will be given according to the Gregorian Calendar. In 1752, that calendar was adopted in England and her colonies, and the new year was made to begin on the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March.



The Town Hall.

In 1784 the old meeting-house, in which the congregation had met for one hundred years, was torn down. The second house of worship was erected at the corner of Bradford and Hope streets. It was raised June 12, 1784, and finished and dedicated Jan. 5, 1785, the day on which the Rev. Henry Wight was ordained pastor. It was built in the style of architecture which then prevailed among the Congregational churches, "with square pews, high pulpit, Deacon's seat in front, and sounding-board overhead." Its walls were afterward covered with "hard finish," and the square pews were supplanted by those of more modern style. The house stood *in* Bradford Street, fronting on Hope Street. The two elms which now stand outside the curbing, and the open space north of the house on the southeast corner, serve to keep the fact fresh in our memories. This building was presented to the town in 1856, the beautiful stone church in which the

society now worships having just been completed. By the town it was moved to its present location on Bradford Street, where it is now used as the Town Hall. Its exterior appears very much as it did in the days of Parson Wight, only a few unimportant changes having been made. The interior of the building has been several times altered. As soon as it came into the possession of the town, a second floor was put in, and in its second story for a few years (from 1858 to 1864), the State Normal School found a home. In the rooms which the Normal School had occupied, the sessions of the High School were held, from the year 1865 until the completion of the "Byfield School" in 1873. Four years ago the second floor was taken away, and the present arrangement of galleries, etc., was made.

Henry Wight, the sixth pastor, was born in Medfield, Mass., May 26, 1752, and graduated from Harvard College in 1782. He found but thirty-six members (seven males, twenty-nine females) when he assumed the charge of the church. Two hundred and twenty-eight additions to its membership were made during his term of service. "His ministry, continuing for nearly half a century, longer than that of any other pastor, was characterized by catholicity in intercourse with other denominations, and an amiability of spirit and fidelity to his convictions of right, which won respect and confidence. He took an active interest in the political questions of the day, and did not hesitate to introduce topics of this nature in his pulpit ministrations, which offended some whose views differed from his, and led to their withdrawal from the society. He was singularly faithful in recording all the votes of the church, and even the informal proceedings of conferences and committee meetings. He also kept for many years quite a full record of current events in the town, particularly of marriages and deaths, and this book has already proved to be of invaluable worth in proving titles to property and to the bounties and pay of soldiers, and others, who died in the Government service." *

* Mr. Lane's *Manual*, page 136.

The following letter was addressed to Mr. Wight by the men who disliked his political sermons. It bears no date, but must have been written before 1803, inasmuch as after that year we find most of its signers enrolled as members of St. Michael's Parish. It is inserted to show how intense was the party spirit of the age. A manuscript copy of the original paper, made at the time of its presentation, is now in possession of Mr. John P. Reynolds, a descendant of one of its signers:—

“ Sir:—

“ We the undersigned being your particular friends, and perhaps Equally desirous of preserving undisturbed every rational ancient form of Public Worship, with those, who, from *political* motives, have been of late unusually clamorous against the Legislature of this State for opposing a motion in its late session, recommending to the citizens of said State the keeping a day of public Thanksgiving;—being also satisfied in our opinion, that the Members of said Legislature, consisting principally of certain sects and representatives of those sects, as Quakers, Baptists, etc., were *conscientiously* actuated in their opposition to the legislative appointment of said day of Thanksgiving,—exercising that great fundamental principle of religious liberty expressly guaranteed to the citizens of said State in their Charter granted by Charles 2^d—principles explicitly recognized too by the various charters and constitutions of every State in the Union;—and having moreover, heard on days of public worship, the public Teachers of Religion, instead of inculcating the salutary Doctrine of our Savior (the object of their settlement), *advocating the Politics of a Political Faction by grossly censuring the majority of the Legislature of said State* for having merely exercised that religious liberty, ‘sought with so much travail,’ by our Forefathers, particularly by the Rev. Roger Williams, our First Settler; do, therefore, and for the following, amongst a variety of other substantial reasons, declare our express Disapprobation against your perverting the sacred Desk into a Stage for the purpose of exhibiting political Disquisitions—especially against the Legislature of said State, viz—*

“ 1st. Your Society contracted with you for the performance of the religious duties of a faithful Minister of the Gospel, *not* for the performance of those of a political Expositor, or a Reviler of legislative Authorities.

“ 2^{dly}. Gentlemen of your Clerical Profession ought to be the last persons in the world to obtrude the boisterous Subjects of Politics, in hours of public worship, upon the religious meditations of your Societies.

“ 3^{dly}. Your Occupation as a public Teacher of Religion is sufficiently copious to occupy more than all your attention.

“ 4^{thly}. In republican Governments, like ours, the citizens have equal,

if not better sources of political Information than those derived from the Clergy.

“5^{thly}. The exclaiming against legislative Proceedings, in public Associations, has a direct tendency to disseminate Discord amongst Neighbors, and to subvert the very basis of all Civil Governments; and

“6^{thly}. When men of your Calling (of sufficient ability) are disposed to become the Detailers of political Scandal, they, taking advantage of the confidence reposed in them by the unsuspecting religious Orders, have generally become vicious Partizans in Politics, if not dangerous tools of Despotism.

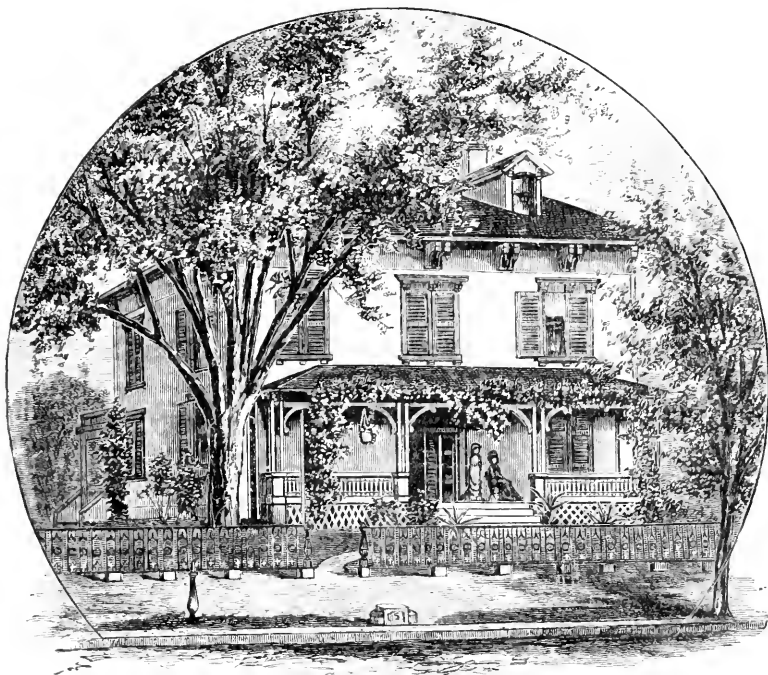
“Although it is our most sincere wish to continue your Friends and Parishioners, yet unless you desist from intermeddling with political subjects, however against our inclination it may be, we shall be obliged to withdraw ourselves from the Society.

(Signed by)

CHARLES DEWOLF,
JOSEPH REYNOLDS,
JOHN DEWOLF,
BARNARD SMITH,
JAMES DEWOLF, and by
several other Parishioners.”

*“In your Thanksgiving Sermon, after commenting upon the proceedings of our State Legislature, you made use of the following, or similar observation, to wit, ‘that it is to be feared that the conduct of a majority of the Legislature of this State tends more to the promotion of anarchy and confusion than good order.’ But while we mention the above, it is just, however, to observe, (if it can be of any consolation to you), that the above remark, tho’ tending directly to propagate the principles of disorganization, was not so extraordinary as an expression not long since used by an Episcopalian preacher, who to promote the great cause of Federalism, (as we presume) had the impudence to accuse the majority of said Legislature, because it would not interfere with the Societies of the various Denominations of this State in recommending a public day of Thanksgiving (not a day of Christmas), yes, this Federalist, who openly avows the British Government to be the best in the world, accused the majority of said Legislature of being actuated with Principles of Infidelity !!!”

Dr. Wight was the sole pastor of the church until 1815, when the Rev. Joel Mann was ordained as his colleague. During the revival of 1812 the Rev. Dr. Isaac Lewis, of New York, journeying in search of health, came to the town, and for six months was employed as Dr. Wight’s assistant. He was invited to settle as colleague pastor, but declined. At his own request Dr. Wight was dismissed from his pastorate Nov. 11, 1828, but continued to reside in Bristol until his death. He lived in the brick house at the northwest corner of Brad-



Residence of Mrs. R. D. Smith.

ford and High streets, which is now used for a grocery store and market. He was a member of the Board of Fellows of Brown University from 1793 to 1833, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from that institution in 1811. He died in Bristol, Aug. 12, 1837, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

The Rev. Joel Mann, who was settled as Dr. Wight's colleague Nov. 15, 1815, was born at Oxford, N. H., and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1810. He served as pastor of the church until Sept. 14, 1826. One hundred and thirty additions to the church were made during his pastorate. He is still living in Brooklyn, N. Y.

During Mr. Mann's residence in Bristol, the "Hall" was erected in which the conference-meetings were held for so many years. Before its erection, meetings were held and lectures delivered in private houses. The first hall used for

the purpose stood near the residence of Mrs. Richard D. Smith, on State Street. Of this building the church used the second story only; Mr. Wyatt Manchester used the lower story as a school-room. It was called the "Blue Hall," and was finally removed to the "Neck" and converted into a dwelling-house. Afterwards, another hall on State Street was used, and then the Court House was hired for the days when the court was not in session. In 1821-22, on the parsonage lot, on the north side of Bradford Street, a building was erected for conference uses, at a cost of about \$720. It was a plain, wooden structure, measuring forty by thirty feet, with walls ten feet high and an arched ceiling. It was furnished with wooden benches, the seats on either side of the desk, intended for the elders of the congregation, being considerably higher than the others. "One of the builders wished to have it called 'Puritan Hall,' and cut those words with considerable care on what he designed for the cornerstone; but another, with iconoclastic tendencies, broke the stone in pieces with a maul, so the edifice was ever spoken of as simply 'The Hall.' " * On the completion of the Memorial Chapel, in 1870, the building was sold to the Second Advent Society. By them it was moved to its present location, near the corner of High and Church streets.

In the spring of 1815 the first Sunday School connected with the church was established. It was continued until the succeeding winter. In 1816 another Sunday School was opened. This was managed with considerable success by various individuals until the 26th of June, 1820, when the church by formal vote assumed its charge.

Nov. 12, 1828, Rev. Isaac Lewis was installed as pastor. He continued to labor in the town until his voice failed him, when, by his own request, he was dismissed Sept. 28, 1831. Mr. Lewis was the son of the Rev. Dr. Isaac Lewis, of Wilton, Conn. He was born at Wilton, Jan. 1, 1773. He graduated at Yale College in 1794, and pursued his theological studies under the direction of Doctors Stiles and Dwight, of the same

* Mr. Lane's *Manual*, page 147.

institution. Previous to his coming to this town he was settled at Cooperstown, N. Y., at Goshen, N. Y., and at Greenwich, Conn. In 1830, under his ministrations, another revival was felt in the church, but its manifestations were much less wonderful than those which had preceded it. Mr. Lewis received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Delaware College in 1844. He died in New York City, Sept. 23, 1854, in the eighty-second year of his age.

The ninth pastor was the Rev. John Starkweather, a native of Worthington, Conn., and a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1825. He was installed Dec. 14, 1831. His connection with the church was brief. The dissatisfaction and want of confidence in him which was felt among the members of his congregation, was at length expressed in a written communication, signed by twenty-one male members. The matter was referred to an Ecclesiastical council, who advised the dissolution of the pastoral relation. He was dismissed Dec. 29, 1834.

The Rev. Dr. Shepard was Mr. Starkweather's successor. Thomas Shepard was born in Norton, Mass., May 7, 1792. He graduated from Brown University in 1813, and from the Andover Theological Seminary in 1816. From 1816 to 1819 he was employed as a missionary and teacher in the State of Georgia. June 16, 1819, he was settled at Ashfield, Mass., as the colleague of the Rev. Nehemiah Porter. He remained at Ashfield about fourteen years, and was afterwards, for about two years, an agent of the American Bible Society. He was installed as pastor of this church April 30, 1835. In the earlier years of his ministry in this town the parsonage on Bradford Street was built. In 1855 the present Congregational Church building was commenced. It was dedicated Nov. 25, 1856.

"The house is located on the corner of Bradford and High streets, fronting on the latter. It has three entrances in front, and a rear entrance at the southeast corner, leading to the library and the pulpit, and also leading to the chapel recently built. It has a tower on the northwest corner, eighteen feet square, with buttresses extending upward about eighty feet, surmounted with belfry and turrets. The full dimensions of the house are as follows: Length, 101 feet; width, 67



The Congregational Church.

feet: walls 28 feet high in the clear, and 39 feet from the floor to the apex of the nave of the main arch. The style of architecture is gothic. The trimmings and buttresses are of pure granite; the filling-up is of a stone somewhat different in quality, presenting a pleasing variety in figure and color. The roof is covered with slate and tin. The interior is finished with groin-arched ceiling, with eight pendants or corbels for springing the arches, and from which depend the chan-

deliers. The pews, numbering 114 on the main floor, are circular, trimmed with black walnut and neatly upholstered. The pulpit, communion table, and chairs are of black walnut, harmonizing well with the general style of the house. The recess back of the pulpit is richly frescoed, as are also the arches in the ceiling of the roof. The organ, made by Messrs. Hook, of Boston, is finished to correspond with the interior of the church. The case is gothic, 34 feet high and 14 feet wide; it has 32 registers or stops, and is of superior tone and capacity. The orchestra is dropped within a few feet of the main floor, and harmonizes in style with the pulpit at the opposite end. The entire floor of the church is richly carpeted, and the whole interior is lighted with gas. The architect was Seth H. Ingalls, and the master builder was William Ingalls, both of New Bedford, Mass."

William B. Spooner, Messadore T. Bennett, Josiah Gladding, Stephen T. Church, and Nathan Bardin, were the building committee under whose supervision the edifice was erected. To realize the differences which less than two hundred years had made, the reader will do well to compare the description just given (it is taken from the Church Manual) with that of the first meeting-house, given on page 128.

In 1846 Dr. Shepard was elected a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1853 he received from his Alma Mater the degree of Doctor of Divinity. On the seventh day of May, 1865, being then



REV. THOMAS SHEPARD, D. D.

just seventy-three years of age, he resigned the active duties of his pastoral office and asked that a successor might be appointed. The resignation was accepted, and the use of the parsonage during the remainder of his life was tendered to him. He died on the 5th of October, 1879. The following extract from a notice of his life (in the *Providence Journal* of Oct. 6, 1879,) in a most admirable manner describes his life and character, and gives voice to the sentiment with which all the people of Bristol regarded him:—

“Dr. Shepard was an eminent representative of the old school of New England divines. His personal presence was imposing, his manners were dignified and courteous; he carried, without effort and without affectation, both into his official and into his private relations, the gravity and decorum and self-respect which befitted his sacred office. During his long career he never failed to honor his profession, and those who were familiar with his life and conversation were constrained to honor it in him. As a preacher he was marked by solid thought and by practical acquaintance with religion. He always esteemed the plain enforcement of the great vital truths of the Gospel to be the first duty of the preacher. Though decided in his own theological views, he had no taste for controversy, and lived in charity with all men. The universal respect with which he was regarded in the community where he passed so many years, knew no limitations of sect. A cordial lover of all good men, he was in turn beloved by all, and in his death many not of his own spiritual fold, will mourn a most valued counselor and friend.

While always, so long as his strength lasted, devoting himself with untiring zeal to the duties of his profession, Dr. Shepard was much more than a faithful parish minister. He was also a most public-spirited citizen, and lent his aid, without stint, to every measure that promised to promote the general good. For years he rendered the most valuable service as Chairman of the School Committee, and when the great movement was commenced, thirty years ago, for elevating the standard of public education in this State, it received from no one a more earnest and intelligent and unwearied support. Like all the older clergy of New England, a conservative both in religion and politics, he was always decided in his support of sound policy, and loyal in his allegiance to constituted authority. After he retired from all official position, his fellow-citizens insisted upon regarding him as a public character, and whenever he appeared before them, spontaneously accorded to him the manifestations of respect which were due to his venerable age, his useful career, and his unblemished character. In him they lose at once their oldest minister and their most honored citizen.”

The Rev. Cyrus P. Osborne was ordained as pastor, Nov. 2, 1865. Mr. Osborne was born at East Boston, Mass., and is a

graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1859, and of Andover in the class of 1862. In 1870, a favorable opportunity having been presented him to visit Europe and the Holy Land, at his own request he was dismissed on the sixth day of June. During his pastorate the debt which had been weighing upon the church for many years was paid, and the Memorial Chapel* was built. The chapel was dedicated Feb. 14, 1870. A plain mural tablet of marble in the large room tells the story of its erection.

THIS CHAPEL

DEDICATED TO THE SERVICE OF GOD, THE FATHER, SON
AND HOLY GHOST,

WAS ERECTED IN 1869, IN MEMORY OF

WILLIAM AND CHARLOTTE DEWOLF,

DECEASED 1829.

BY THEIR DAUGHTERS, CHARLOTTE DEWOLF AND
MARIA DEWOLF ROGERS.

*"We have thought of thy loving kindness
O God in the midst of thy temple."*

The Rev. James P. Lane was the twelfth pastor of the church. Mr. Lane is a native of Candia, N. H., the son of the late Isaiah Lane, M. D. He graduated at Amherst College in 1857, and pursued his theological studies at Andover, Mass. He was pastor of the Congregational Church at East Weymouth, Mass., from 1861 to 1866. He was installed as

* "The chapel adjoins the church edifice, with which it harmonizes in material and style. The walls are of rubble stone; the door, windows and buttresses, of dressed granite. The side walls are thirteen feet, and the main gable thirty-four feet high. The ceiling is finished to the height of twenty-nine feet. A vestibule ten feet by eleven feet joins the chapel to the church. A north wing extends across the end of the vestibule and in the rear of the church, twenty-six feet by twenty-two feet, two inches. A south wing projects from the opposite side, fifteen feet by twenty-one feet, eight inches. The main audience-room, with which the wings are connected by sliding doors with ground glass panels, is thirty-three feet by fifty feet." The ceiling is finished in a style corresponding to that of the church. In the western, or front gable, is a large gothic window of stained glass; a similar window of ground glass is also placed in the north gable. The other windows are of ground glass. By means of the sliding doors the three rooms may be thrown into one.

pastor of the Free Church, in Andover, April 4, 1866. From Andover he removed to Bristol, assuming the charge of this congregation Jan. 11, 1871. In the spring of 1880, he resigned his pastorate, and since that time has been living in Hyde Park, Mass. His successor has not yet been chosen. The present officers of the church are: William Manchester and Parmenas Skinner, Jr., Deacons; Martin Bennett and Messadore T. Bennett, Assistants; Martin Bennett, Treasurer; William H. Spooner, Clerk; Chandler H. Coggeshall, Superintendent of the Sunday School. The members of the Standing Committee are the above, *ex-officio*, and John Adams, William H. Bell, William H. Church, Allen T. Usher, William Burnside, and Seth W. Thayer.

CHAPTER XXX.

DAYS OF WAR AND DAYS OF PEACE.

1775-1800.

DURING the first years of the Revolutionary War the condition of the seaport towns of Rhode Island was pitiable in the extreme. An English fleet was stationed at the mouth of Narragansett Bay; its chief city was occupied by the troops of Great Britain, and marauding parties, sent out from Newport from time to time to secure provisions, did not hesitate to carry away from the houses and farms whatever suited the lawless fancy of the men who composed them. The beginning of the long struggle saw the waters of the bay covered with merchant ships; upon the wharves which lined its shores the productions of foreign lands lay piled, and the streets of its larger towns were noisy with the accents of sailors from many a distant clime. This was the period of Newport's greatest prosperity.* But for the war, that fair city might to-day have been one of the great centres of American commerce. But the British fleet which anchored in its harbor in 1775 gave the death blow to its commercial supremacy. Its manufactories were soon closed, its ships one by one fell into the hands of the enemy, and its patriotic population, im-

* " Her population was over eleven thousand. She had seventeen manufactories of sperm oil and candles, five rope-walks, three sugar refineries, one brewery, and twenty-two distilleries of rum, an article which in those days was deemed essential to the health of the sailor and the soldier, and all hard-working men. Her foreign commerce found employment for nearly two hundred ships, her domestic trade for between three and four hundred coasting craft. A regular line of packets kept open her communication with London for passengers and mails. Her society had never lost the intellectual impulse given it by Berkeley." — *Greene's History of Rhode Island*, page 203.

poverished and despairing, were forced to flee for safety to the inland towns, which the English troops did not venture to approach. From the effects of "the British occupation" Newport never recovered. Not until 1850 did it again number as many inhabitants as in 1775; its lost ships have never been replaced.

With the exception of Newport, Bristol suffered more from the war than did any other town of Rhode Island. In some respects it fared even worse than the island capital, for the situation of Newport — its importance as a naval station — saved it from the shells and the torches which fell to the lot of Bristol. The share which Bristol had taken in the destruction of the "Gaspee" had drawn toward it the hostile regard of the British navy; the bold and fearless utterances of its leading citizens, and the prominent part which they bore in the affairs of the colony, served completely to fix its attention. The home of Simeon Potter and of William Bradford could not expect to be unnoticed by the enemies of Rhode Island.

The people of the town seem to have anticipated the troubles about to come upon them. They early began to devise measures for defence. On the twenty-fifth day of April, 1775, six days after the fight at Concord and Lexington, the town voted that a watch should be set, and that "all men, from the age of sixteen years to sixty, shall be liable to attend upon said watch." At a town-meeting held Sept. 4, 1775, it was

"Voted; That fifteen small arms with bayonets be purchased for the use of the town, and that Mr. Benjamin Bosworth and Mr. Stephen Wardwell be a Committee to procure said arms, and the Town Treasurer be directed and empowered to hire the sum of forty-five pounds lawful money for the purchasing said arms.

"Voted; That the assessors be directed to make a rate or tax, on the polls and estates of this town for the above sum, that the said rate be made forthwith, and that the whole of said rate be paid in Cash.

"Voted; That Deacon Howland and Mr. Benjamin Bosworth be appointed to overhaul the cartridges that are already made, and see that they are good, and that they make a number more as they shall judge sufficient for the use of the town.

"Voted; That the Town Council, be directed to request Colonel Potter to remove a number of cannon which he has lying upon his wharf, to some convenient place, to prevent their falling into the hands of our enemies.

On the 7th of October came the bombardment. From that date until the close of the war, the records are full of votes concerning military matters.

Dec. 12, 1775. "Voted, that some Intrenchments be made near the harbor in this town to prevent the enemy from landing."

William Bradford, Simeon Potter, Benjamin Bosworth, and Jeremy Ingraham, were appointed a committee to construct these defences. "The intrenchments here mentioned were built along the shore, extending south from the foot of State Street, down as far as the foot of Burton Street, near Richmond's wharf. They were composed of a wall five feet high, built of turf and stones, filled up on the inside with loose earth and small stones." *

In 1775 "the postal system of Rhode Island was fully organized, by the establishment of routes, officers, and rates of postage, and the appointment of post-riders. William Goddard (formerly printer of the *Providence Gazette*) had completed his plan, and laid it before Congress, but this Colony anticipated, by nearly six weeks, the action of that body on the subject." † Jonathan Russell was appointed Postmaster at Bristol.

In 1775, as appears from the *Colonial Records*, the "Viper," English sloop-of-war, took the sloop "Polly," of New York, and put a midshipman with a prize crew on board, with orders to take the vessel into Boston. Isaac Eslick, of Bristol, had just been captured by the enemy. He was placed on board the "Polly" as pilot, and freedom for himself and the repossession of a boat and some goods that had been taken from him was promised him, if he would pilot the sloop faithfully into Boston. With great address, Eslick, with two of the men belonging to the sloop who had been left on board, brought the sloop into the Seaconnet River, where she was

* *Annals of Bristol*.

† *Arnold's Rhode Island*, Vol. II., page 352.

taken possession of by Gen. Eseek Hopkins. Two hundred and fifty dollars were voted him by the Legislature, for his achievement.*

Jan. 13, 1776, the British came up from Newport to Prudence Island, with twelve vessels and 250 men, drove off the hundred minute men who opposed them, burned seven houses, and carried away 100 sheep. On the next day reinforcements from Bristol and Warren were sent to the aid of the inhabitants; a battle lasting three hours was fought, and the enemy were driven back to their ships with a loss of fourteen men killed and very many others wounded. The stock, hay, etc., were at once sent off from the island, the troops were ordered away, and the General Assembly, realizing the great dangers which menaced Bristol, directed one of the companies which had been stationed at Prudence, to proceed to its defence. An artillery company was shortly afterward formed in the town, of which Robert Jolls was chosen Captain and Samuel Reed, Lieutenant. A fort was also erected at Bristol Ferry. From the beginning of the war until several months after the battle of Rhode Island, Aug. 29, 1778, the people of Bristol lived in constant dread of attacks by British fleets.

On the fourth day of May, 1776, two months before the Declaration of Independence was voted by the Continental Congress, the Colonial Assembly of Rhode Island formally renounced its allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain and declared itself an independent state. On the second day of December the darkest period in the history of the State began. On that day, with seven ships of the line and four frigates, Sir Peter Parker appeared off Block Island. That same week he entered the bay with seventy transports having 6,000 men on board, and took possession of the City of Newport. The English commander had recognized the fact that from Rhode Island harbors would come most of the privateers that were so dreaded by merchant ships of his country, and determined to blockade the mouth of Narragansett Bay, and, if necessary, to destroy the towns that were situated upon its

* *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., page 391.

shores. At his coming, the small body of American troops that had been stationed upon the Island of Rhode Island were at once withdrawn. Part of the forces, under Colonel Cook, went into camp near Tiverton; the rest, under command of Brigadier-General West, were stationed at Bristol. At the next session of the Legislature the women and children in all the sea-board towns, and especially in Newport, Providence, East Greenwich, and Bristol, were advised "to move with their furniture to the interior." In every one of these towns destruction seemed to await their homes. The injudicious and passionate conduct of the general in command at Bristol secured for the town the hearty dislike of Lord Percy, who had succeeded to the command of the British troops when General Clinton went back to England. Of this fact the following letter bears witness:—

"NEWPORT, April 8th, 1777.

"SIR: I received your letter of the 6th by the flag of truce which brought Mrs. Paine from Bristol, and should have sent you an answer immediately to the same place, had not the unprovoked impertinence of Messrs. West and Varnum obliged me to put a stop to all flags of truce coming from Bristol or Tiverton. I have, therefore, been under the necessity of sending this to Updike's, Newtown, as well as Mrs. Stacy and her children, and shall send the other ladies you mention in your letter as soon as they come to this island, for be assured, Sir, it will give me pleasure to oblige you personally, from whom I have always received that attention and civility which persons who are really gentlemen will ever show each other. You will please direct that the ladies be sent from any place except Bristol or Tiverton, for whilst Mr. West and Mr. Varnum remain there, I shall permit no communication with either of the above places. This, Sir, you must be sensible can be no inconvenience to me, or the troops under my command, as we have neither relations, friends, or acquaintances on the continent. How far it may be to the inhabitants, who may perhaps wish to hear sometimes from their friends, I cannot tell: but if it is, they must thank those whose conduct occasioned it. Be assured, Sir, no person wishes more than myself to alleviate the miseries of war as far as possible, and I am really sorry at being thus prevented from granting those little indulgencies which are generally allowable during such periods. Any request, Sir, you are pleased to make me, which is in my power to grant, I shall always with pleasure attend to, and am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"PERCY.

"WILLIAM BRADFORD, Esq., &c., &c."

April 2, 1777, the row-galley "Washington" blew up near the town, killing eight men and intensifying the feeling of despair which was settling upon the people. This was the galley that was afterward destroyed by the same expedition which burned the town. It was built in 1775. At the time of this accident it was manned by a crew of fifty men, and propelled by thirty oars. It carried for an armament one eighteen-pounder and some swivel-guns. It was afterward repaired and rigged as a schooner.

In July, 1777, the capture of General Prescott by Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, revived the drooping spirits of the town, but the relief was only temporary. The state of affairs at this time is well described in this resolution, adopted in the August town-meeting:—

"Whereas it appears by the late apportionment of a tax upon the several towns of this State, this town is over-rated considering its present circumstances. It is now a garrisoned town, the buildings improved as barracks for soldiers, its fences consumed for fuel, the lands for near two miles laid waste, many of the buildings totally ruined and destroyed, the Inhabitants moved out, many of them into other Governments with their estates, and the exposed situation of the town to be annoyed by the common enemy every hour, the farms can't be improved to any advantage, it is therefore, voted: That a petition be preferred by the freemen to the General Assembly for relief in the premises."

The 25th of May, 1778, saw most of the compact part of the town in flames, and on the 12th of the following August came that terrible storm which for two days swept land and sea with a besom of destruction. Nothing could withstand its fury. The scanty crops that a few bolder spirits had ventured to plant were entirely destroyed. The tents, in which the people had taken refuge after the destruction of their houses, were torn into shreds by the mighty force of the tremendous wind. Men crouched for shelter behind stone walls, and the air was full of the missiles hurled by the hand of wrathful nature. A cold and drenching rain came down, to complete the tale of horror, and brooks that for ages had rippled musically between peaceful banks were

swollen into raging torrents, that covered the fields with an angry flood. When the storm was over, horses and cattle were found dead in the fields, and beside them were found also many of the men who had vainly hastened to their aid. This storm was for years called the "French storm," to distinguish it from the still more deadly "Hessian storm," which came four months later.*

In September, 1778, Lafayette took the command of the ports about the Island of Rhode Island. His principal corps was stationed at Bristol. He was intrusted with the care of Warren, Bristol, and the eastern shore, as he himself writes to General Washington in a letter dated "Camp near Bristol, Sept. 7, 1778." Another letter is dated "Bristol, near Rhode Island." On the 24th of September he writes, "I have removed my station from Bristol and am in a safer place behind Warren." During his stay in this town, the Marquis lived in the house of Joseph Reynolds, upon Bristol Neck. Mrs. Reynolds, the great-grandmother of the present owner of the house, had been informed of the approach of her noble guest, and had made suitable preparations for his reception. More than an hour before the time which had been appointed for his coming, a young Frenchman rode up to the house, and dismounting, tied his horse to a tree which stood near it. Plainly, one of the general's attendants, thought Mrs. Reynolds; and her negro servant, Cato, was at once sent to conduct him to the room designed for the subordinate officers. The young man expressed a desire for something to eat, and he was accordingly seated at the table which had been prepared for his commander, though his hostess wondered greatly that he could not control his appetite until a more appropriate hour. The officer ate very heartily of the dinner that was placed before him, but sat so

* Another terrible storm, more severe than that which had disabled the contending squadrons in August, caused great disaster on sea and shore. The depth of the snow and the intensity of the cold was unparalleled in this vicinity. Sentinels were frozen at their posts, or stifled by the whirling snow, and so many Hessians perished from cold and exposure on that dreadful night in Newport, that this gale was long known as 'the Hessian storm.'" — *Arnold's Rhode Island, Vol. II., page 434.*



The Home of Dr. J. C. Gallup.

long at the table that Mrs. Reynolds was forced to address him, and to remind him that his general was momentarily expected, when, to her intense amazement, the young man announced that he was the visitor whose arrival the household were so eagerly awaiting.

During the terrible cold of the winter of 1779-80 the people of Bristol suffered more than any other inhabitants of the State. All their supply of wood had been exhausted, and the Legislature was forced to come to the relief of the town by a grant of fuel from the public stores. Wood sold in most parts of the State for twenty dollars a cord. Provisions also failed. Corn sold for four silver dollars a bushel, and potatoes for two dollars. — unheard-of prices in those days. For six weeks the bay was frozen from shore to shore. Far as the eye could reach the ice extended out to sea.

On the 25th of October, 1779, the foreign troops that for three years had menaced the State with destruction, sailed

out from the harbor of Newport, and in 1780, the inhabitants who had fled from Bristol during the British occupation of Rhode Island, began to come back. A special act of the Legislature was passed, restoring to them the rights of citizenship which had been forfeited by their residence abroad. French troops were stationed in the town, but the war had been transferred to other fields. A burial-place upon Poppasquash was granted to the French, and they were quartered in barracks which had been erected upon the Vassal and Point farms. Upon these farms hospital buildings were also erected. Some of the barracks were afterwards moved across the harbor on the ice. One of them is still standing upon the west side of High Street, near the corner of Bradford Street. It is the gambrel-roofed house in which Mr. Champlin Bowen lives.

In 1780 the committee appointed by the General Assembly "to take an estimate of the Polls and Ratable Property within the State," reported in Bristol, 171 ratable polls, sixteen slaves, from ten to fifty years of age, £4,111 in money and trading stock (an amount exceeded by but six towns), 755 ounces of plate (only eight towns had more), 103 "horses from 6 mos.," 117 oxen, 535 horned cattle, 1,877 sheep and goats, and £65,779, as the ratable value of the town. Every town in the State but North Providence, Warren, and Barrington, had more ratable polls and a larger ratable value than Bristol: no better evidence could be furnished of the terrible losses that the war had inflicted upon it.

March 13, 1781, General Washington passed through Bristol on his way to Providence. When the news of his approach was received, a company of inhabitants, mounted upon horseback, went down to the ferry to meet him, and to escort him to the village. Accompanied by his aids, he passed directly through the town, riding the entire length of Hope Street. As he passed State Street, a salute was fired in front of the Court House, which then stood in the middle of the street. "When he passed Bradford Street, the inhabitants, clad in their best apparel, stood upon either side of the street, being divided according to their sexes, and as he passed,

showed their respect for him by strewing his path with flowers, evergreens, etc., accompanied with highest marks of civility. When Washington reached the Bridge he turned to the inhabitants, and addressed them in brief but eloquent manner, returning the kindness and civility which had been shown him." *

In 1783 the tract of land known as the Mount Hope Farm, confiscated several years before, and appropriated to discharge the balance of pay due to the officers and soldiers of the battalions of Col. Christopher Greene and Col. Henry Sherburne, was sold by the State to Nathan Miller, of Warren. It had been the property of Isaac Royal, a Tory, who had fled from the Colony at the beginning of the war: it comprised the land which now lies between the farms of Mr. Moses Wood and Bishop Howe. For many years William Bradford, of Bristol, had been designated by the State to collect the rent of this farm. Mr. Bradford bought it from Mr. Miller very shortly after the sale by the State. It had been sold to Mr. Miller as a farm of 385 acres and 111 rods. After its purchase by Mr. Bradford, it was resurveyed by Caleb Harris, and was found to contain but 368 acres and 40 rods. The purchase-money of 17 acres and 17 rods, amounting to £103, 10s., was accordingly paid back to Mr. Miller from the state treasury. In a house which stood upon this farm, Mr. Bradford lived for the rest of his life. He was a man of great energy, rose very early, and was accustomed to take long walks over his extensive domains before the sun appeared. In 1793, when he was a member of the United States Senate, President Washington passed a week with him at "The Mount." The descendants of Governor Bradford, with pardonable pride, love to tell the story that has been handed down to them: "of how the two, clad in that beautiful, old-

* *Annals of Bristol*. "Mrs. Burt, the widow of the Rev. John Burt, after her husband's death maintained herself by keeping school. When Washington passed through town, Mrs. Burt, wishing to impress it on the minds of her scholars, caused them to learn the following verses, which they were required frequently to repeat:—

In seventeen hundred and eighty-one,
I saw General Washington."

— *Ibid*.

fashioned attire of black velvet — dressed very much alike — with ruffles around their wrists and at their bosoms, and with powdered hair, promenaded the piazza and talked together hour after hour.”

Most of the “Tory Estates” were sold before the “Mount Farm.” The Borland farm, at the Narrows, was purchased by Shearjashub Bourne. The estate of William Vassal, upon Poppasquash (now known as the Herreshoff farm), was bought by John Brown, of Providence, Nov. 20, 1781. For its 221 acres, and the buildings which stood upon it (excepting the barracks), Mr. Brown paid £3,293, 6s. 3d. Mr. Vassal belonged to a family very prominent in Massachusetts in the days before the Revolution. His principal residence was in Boston, and there most of his time was spent. He possessed great wealth, and was very benevolent, dispensing with a free hand his gifts to the poor. But he was a member of the Church of England, and was loyal to the English Crown. Tradition has it, that at the very beginning of the struggle, the passions of the people of Bristol were so stirred up by his bold expressions of loyalty to Great Britain, and his denunciations of the course pursued by the colonies, that he was one day stoned in the streets of the town by those whom his bounty had often relieved.

In 1783 Jonathan Russell was appointed Intendant of Trade for the Town and County of Bristol.

In January, 1785, a census of the town was taken by the Rev. Henry Wight. The whole number of inhabitants was 1,195. There were 126 dwelling-houses; 10 widowers and bachelors, heads of families; 218 distinct families; 34 widows, heads of families, besides several young widows who lived with their parents; 78 persons above 60 years of age; 628 children who lived with their parents; 328 children under 10 years of age; 122 domestics, who were either hired, or lived in families; 73 slaves* of both sexes; 25 free negroes, and other persons of color.

* In 1784 an act providing for the gradual abolition of slavery, and forbidding the introduction of slaves for sale, upon any pretext whatever, had been passed by the General Assembly.

"Fire Engine No. 1" was purchased for the use of the town in 1784. The first "Fire Wardens" were: Benj. Bosworth, Jr., John Howland, Jonathan Russell, Jeremiah Ingraham, and Richard Smith. This engine was bought in Boston, and was placed in a house at the foot of Bradford Street. It was a hand-engine, as were two others purchased in the early part of the present century. They were fed by water brought in the leather buckets which the law then required every man to hang in his house. The "Hydraulion" was bought in 1838; "Engine No. 4," in 1844. In 1800 the "Hook and Ladder Company" was formed.

The last issue of paper money * by the State of Rhode Island was made in 1786. To enforce the circulation of a worthless currency, the General Assembly passed the most stringent laws, notwithstanding the solemn protests that were presented against its course. Providence, Newport, New Shoreham, Bristol, and Warren only, had the courage to resist the will of the exultant partisans, who were throttling the commerce of the State. A few months later, when the still more odious "Test Act" was submitted for the consideration of the people, the citizens of Bristol again had the honor and the good sense to instruct its representatives to oppose its enactment. An enlightened public spirit, and a just conception of the principles which govern the development of trade, seem always to have characterized the acts of the town. (In 1786 no Thanksgiving Day was appointed by the authorities of Rhode Island, but Bristol observed the day set apart by Massachusetts.) When, in 1788, the question of adopting the Federal Constitution was submitted to the people of the State, in Bristol and in Little Compton only did the friends of the Constitution succeed in returning a majority in its favor. In the succeeding year, Providence, Newport, and Bristol each presented petitions to the Federal Congress representing the distressed condition of the State, and praying that its commerce might be exempted from foreign duties

* See *Arnold's History of Rhode Island* and the *Historical Tract* already mentioned, for a full history of the paper-money issues.

in the ports of the Union. A most successful result followed these petitions from the three leading sea-ports; the vessels of Rhode Island were, for a time, exempted from the payment of import duties. In 1790 Rhode Island, last of the "old thirteen" colonies, became a part of the American Union. The adoption of the Constitution was celebrated in Bristol on the thirty-first day of May. The citizens assembled in front of the State House (the Assembly* met at Bristol in those days), and listened to speeches from the leading men of the place. A salute of thirteen guns was fired, and one gun was added in recognition of the claims of Vermont.

June 4, 1792. A distillery for the manufacture of New England rum commenced operations. It belonged to Shearjashub Bourne and Samuel Wardwell, and stood on the wharf where the Namquit Mill now stands. In it, for nearly thirty-five years, two hundred gallons of rum were made each day. A ready market for its product was found on the coast of Africa. The first distillery in the town was built at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It stood near the southwest corner of Union and Hope streets, in the triangle formed by Union, Hope, and Thames streets. (The southern end of Thames Street had not then been washed into the bay.) A second was built in 1751, on the west side of Thames Street, between State and Bradford streets. Another was placed on the east side of Thames Street, where Mr. William H. Spooner's store now stands. At one time, five of these establishments were in active operation. In each of them, molasses was converted into rum. The last was closed in 1830, the business having ceased to be profitable. The water which they used was brought in wooden pipes from a spring about two miles northeast of the town. These old wooden pipes are still dug up, from time to time, as trenches are made for water and gas pipes.

In 1793 the spider wind-mill, which was afterward moved to a lot near the head of the harbor, was erected upon the Common by Nathaniel Smith and Shearjashub Bourne; in that

* The Assembly met in this town for the first time in 1785.

year, also, a bell weighing nearly seven hundred pounds, and a clock costing \$200, were purchased by the town and placed in the steeple of the Congregational Church. The price of the bell was thirty-seven and one-half cents per pound.

June, 1794, the charter of the Bristol Train of Artillery was granted. The charter members of the company were: Samuel Wardwell, William De Wolf, Samuel V. Peck, and John Bradford. By the charter the company was made independent of all regiments; when in active service it was to be under the command of the governor of the State only. Its members (which, exclusive of officers, "must not exceed sixty-four in number") were exempted from bearing arms, or doing military duty in the militia of the State. The first election of officers was held April 7, 1796, when Samuel Wardwell was chosen Captain, with the rank in the militia of Lieutenant-Colonel; William DeWolf, First Lieutenant, with rank of First Major; Samuel V. Peck, Second Lieutenant, with rank of Second Major; and John Bradford, Ensign, with rank of Captain. Commissions corresponding to these offices were issued by the State. The sergeants chosen were: Jacob Babbitt, Ambrose Waldron, Simeon Munro, and Samuel Slocum. In 1797 two brass field-pieces (said to have been captured from the British at the surrender of Burgoyne) were presented to the company by the State, "to be fired on all public occasions." These pieces are still used for the purpose specified.

The following interesting commentary is well worth insertion. It reproduces more vividly the customs of the day, than would many pages of manuscript:—

January 24th 1795		
the town Counsel		Dr.
to a Nip of Grog	. . . . .	0 — 0 — 6
to a Dubel Bole of tod	. . . . .	0 — 2 — 9
February 2		
to a Dobel Bole tod	. . . . .	0 — 2 — 9
to a Glas for Mr. Bosworth	. . . . .	0 — 0 — 3
to 2 Nips Grog	. . . . .	0 — 1 — 0
to 8 Supers	. . . . .	0 — 12 — 0
to a Dobel Bole tod	. . . . .	0 — 2 — 9

March 2

to a Bole of tod	0 — 1 — 6
to a Dobel of tod	0 — 3 — 0
to a Dobel Bole tod	0 — 3 — 0
to 6 men Coffee	0 — 9 — 0

April 7 to a Dubel Bole

of Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to 8 men Coffee	0 — 12 — 0
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 3 — 6
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 3 — 6
to a Nip Grog	0 — 0 — 6
May 4 to a Nip	0 — 0 — 6
to 2 Dubel Boles Punch	0 — 8 — 0
to 8 Supers	0 — 12 — 0

June 1 to a Dubel

Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to a Dubel Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to 7 men Supers	0 — 10 — 6
July 6 to a Nip Grog	0 — 0 — 6
to a Nip Punch	0 — 1 — 0
to a Dubel Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to Punch	0 — 1 — 0
to 8 men Supers	0 — 12 — 0
August 3 to a Nip Punch	0 — 1 — 0
to a Nip Grog	0 — 0 — 6
to a Dubel Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to a Dubel Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to 8 men Supers	0 — 12 — 0

Sept 6 to a Bole Grog and a

Bole Punch	0 — 3 — 0
Sept 8 to Brandy Slings	0 — 0 — 9
to Braudy Sling	0 — 0 — 9
to Grog	0 — 0 — 6
to a Dubel Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to 7 men Dinners	0 — 10 — 6
to 7 men Supers	0 — 10 — 6
to a Dubel Bole Punch	0 — 4 — 0
to a Dubel Bole Grog	0 — 2 — 0
Sept 9 to a Bole Punch	0 — 2 — 0
to Grog	0 — 1 — 0
Sept 12 to a Bole of tod	0 — 1 — 4
October 4 to a Bole tod	0 — 1 — 4
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 2 — 8
to 7 men Supers	0 — 10 — 6
to a Pint Rum	0 — 4 — 0

November 2

to 3 Boles Grog	0 — 3 — 0
to a Sling	0 — 2 — 0

to a Bole of tod	0 — 1 — 4
to 6 men Supers	0 — 9 — 0
to a Bole of tod	0 — 1 — 4

November 10

to a Nip Grog	0 — 0 — 6
to a Nip Grog	0 — 0 — 6
to a Sling	0 — 1 — 0
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 2 — 8

December 7

to 2 Glases Brandy	0 — 0 — 8
to a Bole tod	0 — 1 — 4
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 2 — 8
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 2 — 8
to a Dubel Bole tod	0 — 2 — 8
to 8 Supers	0 — 10 — 0

12 — 3 — 2

Dec 7th 1795 Rec^d payment
in full for the within & foregoing }
STEPHEN WARDWELL. }

Sept. 11, 1798, Richard Darby was released from prison by the Supreme Court of the State, which was then sitting in this town. The Darby episode was a very curious one and deserves to be recorded. The account which follows is taken from the *Annals of Bristol*:—

“Mr. Darby was a native of New Jersey. He came to this town in May, (1798) for the purpose of teaching a school. He taught in a school house which was situated on the neck, near where Mr. Henry DeWolf * now lives. He commenced with only seven scholars, but such were his faculties for interesting and instructing youth, that he soon gathered a full school, numbering about forty scholars. Having been here about two months he declared his belief to a few individuals, that there was money buried somewhere in this region. He assured them that this matter had been revealed to him, and that it was expressly for the purpose of obtaining this money that he had come to this town. He told them that in order to secure the money, the whole matter should be kept a profound secret, and that a company should be formed to take proper measures for obtaining it. About forty of the citizens of this place and Warren, joined with him in carrying out his purposes. Among these were some of the most respectable men of the community, and who sustained a highly religious character. He told them that if they would be sincere and faithful in following his directions, he would get the money. He charged them to hold as their watchword in this matter, *sincerity and*

* Mr. Fitz Henry DeWolf now lives in his father's house.

confidence in their leader. He met with them in the night time, and led them with an open Bible in his hands, in marching around in a circle* and performing certain magical operations. The ring around which they marched was about thirty feet in diameter. It was situated near where Mr. Ladien now lives. When he had continued this course for several weeks, he attempted to bring his project for duping his followers, to a consummation. He accordingly told them that he had received intelligence of the sickness of his friends at home, but that he would instruct them how to proceed in his absence. He then produced a *blank* sheet of paper folded in the form of a letter, which he pretended to entrust to a person whom they appointed, (but by sleight of hand dropped a *written one*) saying that this letter must be kept with the seal unbroken for a certain number of days, (to allow him time to abscond,) and then must be opened in presence of them all, and if they were to be successful, writing would appear on this *blank* sheet, which would tell them what to do.

"The letter was locked up among the private papers of the person, until the time appointed; when it was opened according to order, and to their great satisfaction, writing appeared. The family were several times aroused from their slumbers *by a scratching at the desk*: which they supposed to be some spirit, writing upon the sheet there deposited. They were instructed to purchase a quantity of mineral sand, of a blacksmith in Cumberland, which would break the enchantment by which the money was held. A committee was therefore furnished with money, and sent to Cumberland to get the sand. But when they were told that it was to be sold at about a dollar an ounce, they were led to suspect their leader of some intrigue. They immediately withdrew and held a consultation among themselves, the result of which was that they should frighten the blacksmith, and make him tell them whether Mr. Darby had not been there and furnished him with the sand, and ordered him to sell it at this exorbitant rate.

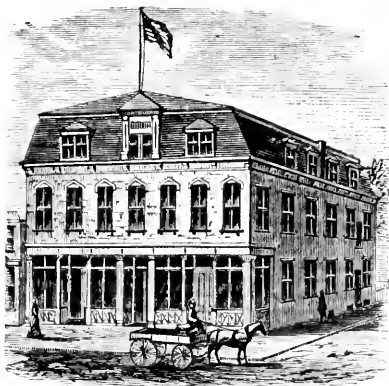
"The blacksmith fearing their threats of tar and feathers or a like punishment, for being concerned in such a plot, frankly told them that their suspicions were not unfounded, and that Mr. Darby was then at a house not more than a mile distant. The committee immediately repaired to the house, and had Mr. Darby arrested and brought before a Court of Inquiry, and afterwards before the Supreme Judicial Court, by which he was released as above mentioned. No charge of deception could be proved against him, as he had never told them that *they* should receive the money, but only 'if faithful to him *he* would get the money.' Although

* When Bristol boys and girls are learning to skate, almost the first thing they attempt in the line of fancy skating is to "cut the Darby ring." Very few of them know why the ring is so called, and what a noted person Mr. Darby was. Mr. Ladien lived in the long, one-story house, which stands on the east side of the main road, a little north of the present boundary line between Warren and Bristol. Thirty or forty years ago, the stages passed within a few feet of its front door, and a swamp covered the site of the present road-bed. The track of the old road may still very easily be traced, in the field next south of the house.

he was thus cleared by law, he was not suffered to leave the town until his followers had resented this gross insult by presenting him with a thick coat of *Tar and Feathers*."

In 1798 the first Public Library of the town was established. Subscribers for one hundred shares at five dollars a share were easily obtained, and a charter of incorporation was granted by the Assembly at its May session. Of the five hundred dollars originally subscribed, three hundred were given by Col. Simeon Potter, and one hundred and twenty-one by Capt. Charles DeWolf. In grateful recognition of the liberality of the principal donor, the association was called "The Potter Library Company." Its first meeting was held in the "Academy," Nov. 3, 1798. Nearly all of the money subscribed was at once invested in books, and a very excellent library was thus obtained (as a reference to its catalogue, now in the possession of the Librarian of the "Rogers Library" will show). Some rather singular rules were enforced respecting the circulation of the books. The time they might be held by a subscriber depended on their size, and when two or more persons applied at the same time for the same book, an auction was held, and the highest bidder carried it away. Yearly dues of twenty-five cents, to preserve and increase the library, were required from each member. Thomas Richmond was the first to hold the office of Librarian and Treasurer; Joseph M. Blake succeeded him. The library was opened only on Saturday afternoons. The company was dissolved in 1837, and its property was divided among those who then held its shares.

The death of George Washington caused very deep grief among the people of Bristol. Several times he had visited the town, and his commanding presence was familiar to all its



Furniture Warehouse of Mr. William H. Bell.

citizens. On the 29th of December, 1799, a funeral discourse on the character of the dead President was delivered in the Congregational Church by the Rev. Henry Wight. January 6, 1800, was set apart for the observance of his obsequies. On the morning of that day a salute was fired upon the Common, and the bell was tolled. At two o'clock, in the afternoon, a procession was formed in the following order:—

Independent Company of Bristol Grenadiers.

Bristol Train of Artillery.

with their field-pieces and wagons.

Clergymen of the Town.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR BRADFORD,

attended by

JUDGE BOURNE, MAJOR BRADFORD, and COLONEL WARDWELL.

Judges of the County Court.

Officers of the Town Council and Custom House.

Officers of the Militia.

MR. DANIEL ADAMS,

with his pupils.

MR. DANIEL BRADFORD,

with his pupils.

Citizens and Strangers.

On the 22d of February, 1800, in accordance with a resolution of the Federal Congress recommending the people of the United States to assemble, "publicly to testify their grief for the death of General George Washington, by suitable eulogies, orations and discourses, or by public prayers," the citizens again gathered in the Congregational Meeting-House, and listened to an eulogy pronounced by Allen Bourne, a young lawyer of the town.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

“A RICH man with a good heart, is surely one of the greatest blessings which God sends on the earth.” So Bishop Griswold, in a funeral discourse, briefly summed up the characteristics of the man whose name stands forth more prominently than any other in the history of Bristol.

William Bradford was born at Plympton, in Plymouth County, Mass., Nov. 4, 1729 (O. S.). His father was Lieut. Samuel Bradford, a descendant in the fourth generation of one of the company who came over in the “Mayflower,” — William Bradford, the man who, on the death of Carver, was elected to succeed him as the governor of Plymouth Colony. In his early youth Mr. Bradford gave promise of the talent that was afterward to make him so conspicuous. The natural bias of his mind at first seemed to incline him to the practice of medicine, and the best advantages were therefore afforded him to pursue the study of that science. At the age of twenty-two, under the tuition of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham (Dr. Hersey was a distinguished physician and early benefactor of Harvard College), he had attained the best medical education which was possible at that time to those who studied medicine in this country.

In 1751 he married Mary LeBaron, the daughter of Dr. Lazarus LeBaron, of Plymouth, and settled in Warren, R. I. His affable and affectionate manner, united to his skill and success, soon gained him a liberal encouragement, which sel-

dom falls to the lot of so young a practitioner, however meritorious. He was particularly well qualified in the art of surgery, was considered as the principal operative surgeon in the vicinity where he resided, and in an extensive circle, performing difficult operations with great dexterity, skill and judgment."* After practicing for a few years at Warren he removed to Bristol, where a better field for the exercise of his large abilities awaited him. The date of his removal is uncertain. His name first appears on the town records in 1758 : it is probable that he had then been for some time a resident of Bristol.

In 1761 Doctor Bradford was first chosen to represent the town in the General Assembly, of which for so many years he was destined to be the most conspicuous member. In 1764 he was made the speaker of that body. It must have been about this time that he commenced the study of law. The success which attended his entrance upon the political arena naturally tended to concentrate his attention upon legal rather than medical subjects. He appears for the last time as " Doctor " in the records of 1767 : from that time forward, until he had won the right to a much more honorable title, he is William Bradford, *Esquire*. A hundred years ago the success of a lawyer depended not so much upon his knowledge of law as upon his personal character. The judges were seldom lawyers, and a man of imposing presence and great personal magnetism could, even in his first case, exercise a wonderful influence over the minds of a jury. In law, as in medicine, accordingly, Mr. Bradford quickly rose to eminence. Says Mr. Thacher : " It may justly be said of him, that very few ever arrived so near to superior eminence in two professions which required so much attention necessary to a proper discharge of each."

Mr. Bradford entered upon political life during a period well suited to the display of his unusual executive ability. The " times that tried men's souls," found him burning with patriotic zeal, and eager to thrust himself forward into the

* *Thacher's Medical Biography.*

forefront of the contest for independence. The story of his life during the days of the Revolutionary War, may be traced on every page of the history of the State. When the struggle began he was a member of the General Assembly; from 1775 to 1778 he was the deputy-governor; in 1778, when the State released him for a time from its service, he was again sent to share in the councils for its welfare, as a representative from Bristol; year after year he was continued as the town's representative, until he was selected to represent Rhode Island in the Senate of the United States.

When the Committee of Correspondence was created, in May, 1773, "to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all such acts and resolutions of the British Parliament, and measures of the ministry, as may relate to or affect the British Colonies in America: and to maintain a correspondence and communication with the other colonies concerning these important considerations," he was chosen one of its members. The important part he took in the Bristol town-meetings when the arbitrary hand of British power was laid so heavily upon helpless but defiant Boston, has already been mentioned. When the news of the battle of Lexington shattered the last hopes of the men who had until then dreamed of a peaceable solution of the questions at issue between the colonies and the mother country, Nathaniel Green and William Bradford were sent by the General Assembly to Connecticut, as a committee to consult with the Assembly of that Colony upon measures relating to the common defence. In May, 1775, the Committee of Safety was appointed, whose duty it was "to furnish and pay the troops, and with the two highest military officers, to direct the movements of the army of observation, if required to march beyond the Colony." This committee was composed of two members from Providence County, and one each from the other counties of the State. Mr. Bradford was the member chosen to represent the County of Bristol.

On the seventh day of November, 1775, the General Assembly formally deposed Governor Wanton from his office, de-

clared the office of governor vacant, and elected Nicholas Cooke, the deputy-governor, to fill the vacancy. To the position made vacant by the promotion of Governor Cooke, William Bradford was chosen. Thus it happened that he was the last deputy-governor of the Colony of Rhode Island, and the first to hold the office in the independent state which succeeded it: for, when the Assembly again met, May 4, 1776, the act abjuring allegiance to the British Crown, was passed.

In October, 1776, Mr. Bradford was appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress, but from the record of the proceedings of Congress it appears that he never took his seat in that body. The fleet of the enemy was then lying at the mouth of Narragansett Bay, and his presence in Bristol was probably more necessary at that critical time than his attendance at the sessions of Congress. The company of militia ordered to the defence of Bristol in January, 1776, had been placed under his orders, and for some time the defences of the town were his special charge. His appointment in that year as chairman of the Committee to examine Surgeons and Surgeons' Mates for the army and navy, shows that he must still have retained his interest in the healing art; the fact that he assisted in dressing the wound of Colonel Barton (which the latter had received when he hastened to the relief of burning Bristol in 1778), also testifies to his interest in his old profession.

The coming of the fleet of Sir Peter Parker, in December, 1776, and the occupation of Newport by the 6,000 men that came with him, has already been mentioned. It was reported, soon after their arrival, that the enemy intended to march upon Boston, by way of Providence. A convention was thereupon held to devise some means for raising an army to oppose their progress. It met at Providence, Dec. 25, 1776, and was made up of three delegates from each of the New England States. Stephen Hopkins, *William Bradford*, and Henry Ward, were the Rhode Island members. July 7, 1777, the Assembly appointed three delegates to attend a convention at Springfield, "to consider the subject of the currency, and the defence of

Rhode Island ;” they were Stephen Hopkins, *William Bradford*, and Paul Mumford.

In 1777 Mr. Bradford was appointed to lease the estates of the Tories that had been confiscated by the State. October, 1779, he was one of the Council of War. July, 1780, he was chosen to attend a convention of the New England States, held in the city of Boston. The convention was called that some method might be devised by which the Americans could furnish supplies to their French allies. Four months later a convention, called for a similar purpose, met at Hartford. It sat for two weeks, and the result of its deliberations was most important. It advised that recruits should be enlisted *for the war*, instead of for a limited time, and embodied its views on the general condition of the country in a series of resolutions, ten in number, which were sent to the several States. Of this convention Mr. Bradford was President.

So, through the whole of the long struggle we see his name appearing. For more than twenty years in succession, either as deputy-governor or one of the representatives from Bristol, he was a member of the Rhode Island General Assembly. In October, 1792, he was chosen a member of the United States Senate, and so for a time the town was forced to relinquish her claim upon him; but in 1797, having resigned his senatorial office, he again appeared as its representative, and was regularly returned as such until 1804. For eighteen years — longer than any other ever held the office — he was the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Colony and State of Rhode Island. Thirty-five years he represented the town of Bristol in that body. He entered the Colonial Assembly when his frame was young and strong, and his pulses were leaping with the superabundant vigor of early manhood. Not until his eye had grown dim, until his hair was silvered with the frosts of age and his shoulders were bent with the weight of almost fourscore years, did he withdraw from the public service. He died at Bristol on the sixth day of July, 1808.

CHAPTER XXXII.

BENJAMIN BOURNE.

THE following sketch of the life and character of a man who was one of the most prominent lawyers of Rhode Island at the beginning of the present century, was prepared many years ago for a book that was never published.— the second volume of Wilkins Updike's *Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar*. Its author settled in Bristol shortly after Judge Bourne's death, succeeded to a large share of his practice, and was repeatedly elected to offices of honor and responsibility by the people of the town and State. It is here inserted in full, not only because it was written by one who had been a student in the office of Judge Bourne, and had therefore enjoyed exceptional facilities for forming a just estimate of his powers, but also because it seems eminently fitting to preserve in more enduring form, for the benefit of posterity, an article from the facile pen of Nathaniel Bullock:—

“The late Judge Bourne was the son of Shearjashub Bourne, who came from Sandwich, Massachusetts, about the middle of the last century, and married and settled in Bristol. He had received a liberal education at Cambridge, and his first employment here was that of a school-master. He was, however, probably at the same time engaged during his leisure hours in reading law, for he soon commenced the practice, became respectable in the profession, and presided several years as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and, it is thought, held the office at his death, in 1781.

“Benjamin Bourne, the subject of this sketch, was born in Bristol, September 9th, 1755, was placed early under the instruction of Rev. S. Townsend, the then Congregational minister of Barrington, by whom he was prepared for Cambridge University, at which he graduated with distinguished honors, in a class many of which became eminent in their day, in the pulpit, or at the forum, and in our national or State councils. After a short interval at school keeping, in which it is understood that

he did not succeed to his mind, he resorted to the study of the law in the office of General Varnum, the most able advocate of his time. But the Revolution having already come on, diverted him from his studies. He thought with the Roman orator, '*silent enim leges inter arma.*' In August, 1776, just after the disastrous battle on Long Island, the darkest period of the war, he was appointed ensign of a company in the Rhode Island brigade of continental troops, and immediately entered on the stirring and to him untried scenes of the camp. He was, however, soon transferred to the quartermaster's department, and discharged the duties of an assistant, with the utmost diligence and fidelity; till the Northern army was disbanded. On leaving the army he resumed his studies, and soon commenced his professional career at Providence, where he rapidly established an enviable reputation for probity and talents. He was not only patronized as a faithful, sound lawyer, but became popular as a man and as a sagacious statesman, at a time, too, when popularity was no deceptive indication of merit.

At the age of thirty-four Judge Bourne was elected a member of Congress by an overwhelming majority, in opposition to the whole force of a party that had recently controlled the State, and continued to be returned a member of that body till he received the appointment of District Judge, on the death of Judge Marchant, in 1796. While serving in Congress he displayed the rare combination of talents for business and talents for debate. He spoke but seldom, and never without marked effect. On the new organization of the United States Courts, just before the close of the elder Adams' administration, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Eastern circuit, composed of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island; but on the repeal of the act creating this intermediate court, he, with his associates, was ousted from the bench, and compelled to assume his profession for the support of his family.

"In his politics Judge Bourne was a decided Federalist, stood high among the illustrious men of that party, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Hamilton, Pickering, Sedgwick, Ames and others. Some of the remains of this correspondence are still preserved in the family archives, and, though mutilated for the sake of autographs, show a familiar interchange of sentiment on the policy and movements of the functionaries of the General Governments, and the cordial feelings of personal confidence and friendship mutually cherished.

"On taking his seat upon the Bench Judge Bourne removed to Bristol, and fixed himself and family upon his patrimonial estate, a small but beautiful farm at the northern entrance of the village, now belonging to Mrs. James D. W. Perry, his only grandchild. Here he took up his abode for the residue of his days, devoting his leisure to the improvement of his lands, in the enjoyment of a free social intercourse with his many friends, and in the exercise of a generous but unostentatious hospitality. On his return to the bar business followed him here, so that he immediately found himself in full practice. His former clients, who were among the principal merchants and business men of the State, had not forgotten his talents or fidelity. He went the circuit of the courts, and was

engaged in all the most important trials. He had a mind naturally strong, and so disciplined by education and habit, that its powers were ever at his command. His conceptions were remarkably quick, clear and comprehensive, his language at the bar chaste and appropriate, his utterance full and rapid, and yet perfectly distinct. In common conversation, as well as in argument, when there was nothing unusual to excite, words flowed from his lips without the least apparent effort. He was, nevertheless, far from phlegmatic in his temperament. There was quite enough of excitability to be aroused on proper occasions. A severe conflict on an important question would never fail to kindle up his mind with burning ardour, flash across his animated countenance, making every feature eloquent. It was an occasion of this sort upon which he made his last display in Court. He appeared there as the advocate of an only brother whose maritime disasters had reduced him from wealth to insolvency, in a cause deeply implicating the integrity and character of that brother. It was a cause of the first importance, involving points of law which had never before been mooted in the State. The result depended on the construction of a statute which had never before elicited discussion. The contest was waged, too, against opposing counsel of no ordinary forensic powers, one whose brilliant mind shed lustre on the bar, and whose displays of eloquence in our national Legislature have been seldom if ever surpassed. Both parties were men of high standing and of great influence. The trial occupied several days and was attended with no little excitement. The utmost efforts of the advocates were put in requisition on both sides, and exerted with a zeal rarely witnessed. The case finally resulted in the triumph of Mr. Bourne; but it was a dear bought victory to his advocate, who retired from the cause physically exhausted by the conflict. The exertion fixed a wasting disease upon his lungs, under which he lingered a few short months and expired September 17, 1808.

"In his person he was rather above the common height, well proportioned, athletic and corpulent. The whole contour and outline of his noble visage gave assurance of no ordinary man. In his high forehead, broad Ciceronian face and dark bushy brow, shading an eye vivid with expression, phrenologists would have discovered strong moral and intellectual capacities. There was a certain dignity in his countenance which at first glance gave it a cast of sternness, but the repulsive aspect vanished the moment he spoke. Of dress he was negligent almost to a fault, yet his manners were always such as bespoke the gentleman. His conversational tact, facetiousness and other companionable qualities made him the favorite guest wherever he went, the nucleus, delight and life of every social circle. Though at the head of the Bar while in practice, he was remarkable for his courteous deportment towards the Court and his professional brethren, and often fostered the younger members with his aid and encouragement. To his pupils he was familiar and communicative, and few ever had such ready facilities for imparting instruction. He finished his course before age had made much inroad upon his constitution or at all impaired his mental faculties, and left the world, as is believed, without a personal enemy."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE METHODIST CHURCH.

1790-1880.

"In the center of Boston Common still stands a gigantic elm — the crowning ornament of its beautiful scenery. On a fine summer afternoon in July, 1790, a man of middle age, of a serene but shrewd countenance, and dressed in a style of simplicity which might have been taken for the guise of a Quaker, took his stand upon a table beneath the branches of that venerable tree. Four persons approached and gazed upon him with surprise, while he sang a hymn. It was sung by his solitary voice; at its conclusion he knelt down upon the table, and, stretching forth his hands, prayed with a fervor and unction so unwonted in the cool and minute petitions of the Puritan pulpits, that it attracted the groups of promenaders who had come to spend an evening hour in the shady walks, and by the time he rose from his knees, they were streaming in processions from the different points of the Common, towards him. While he opened his small Bible and preached to them without notes, but with the 'demonstration of the Spirit and of power,' the multitude grew into a dense mass, three thousand strong, eagerly catching every utterance of the singular stranger. One who heard him at this time says: 'He presented us with such a variety of beautiful images, that I thought he must have been at infinite pains to crowd so many beautiful things into his memory. But when he entered upon the subject matter of his text, it was with such an easy, natural flow of expression, and in such a tone of voice, that I could not refrain from weeping; and many others were affected in the same way. When he was done, and we had an opportunity of expressing our views to each other, it was agreed that such a man had not visited New England since the days of Whitefield. I heard him again, and thought I could follow him to the ends of the earth.'"

Such is the account the Methodist historian, Stevens, gives of the first appearance in Boston, of Jesse Lee; the man to whose self-denying zeal the Methodist Church in Bristol owes

its existence. It is a most admirable description, not only of the way in which Lee raised himself to prominence and influence in New England, but also of the course the Methodist preachers of the last century everywhere adopted.

To the remotest parts of the country, these bold itinerants penetrated : shrinking from no hardships, enduring, oftentimes indeed appearing to court persecutions from the rude and ignorant pioneers to whom especially their efforts were directed. Everywhere upon the frontiers crowds flocked to hear them, and everywhere the most extraordinary scenes attended their preaching. In the cities and the older towns of the east, their success, though great, was not so marked, but among the mountains of the south and the dense forests of the north and west, the spirits of the adventurous settlers were mightily inflamed by their impassioned harangues, and the multitudes which formed their audiences were swayed by their burning words, as grain-fields are moved by the breath of the onrushing winds. The wonderful growth of the Methodist Church in America is one of the most remarkable things in the history of this country, and well merits the attention so many writers have devoted to it.

The story of the founding of the church in Bristol presents features similar to those which can be observed in tracing the history of the denomination in the other important towns of New England. According to Mr. Stevens, Jesse Lee was the first Methodist preacher to address an audience in this place. In this point the historian is mistaken ; to a much more distinguished man belongs this honor. Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1740, fifty years before the coming of Lee, *George Whitefield* preached at Bristol. In a letter dated Boston, Sept. 26, 1740, he mentions the fact.* He had landed at Newport a few days before, and was on his way to Boston. There, not long after, an audience of twenty thousand people gathered beneath the trees of the Common, to listen to his soul-stirring words. On his arrival in Bristol, Mr. Whitefield was refused permission to preach in the meeting-house or the church, but through the

* *Whitefield's Works* (London, 1772), Vol. I., page 243.

exertions of Lydia, the wife of Hopestill Potter, the use of the Court House was allowed him.*

The Rev. Jesse Lee delivered his first sermon at Bristol, July 2, 1790. On the 30th of June he had preached at Newport. Capt. Daniel Gladding (the grandfather of Peter Gladding, the present town clerk), learned this fact, and also ascertained that on the next day Mr. Lee was to pass through the town.

"Having a curiosity to know what kind of people the Methodists were, he resolved to stop the preacher, and induce him, if possible, to address the good people of Bristol. On July 1, he looked out sharply to hail the stranger as he passed. At last he saw two men leisurely trotting their horses through the village. Being at a distance from them, he dropped his work, and set off upon a run to overtake them. He reached them upon the bridge, after they had passed the village. Inquiring, quite out of breath, if they were Methodist preachers, he ascertained that one of them was Lee himself. They were induced by his entreaties to return, and were entertained at his house. The next day, their curious host spread far and wide a notice of their arrival, and of Lee's intention to address them. He preached to them accordingly, and passed on to Warren."—*Letter of Rev. Asa Kent.*

Two years after, in May, 1792,† the first class was formed at the house of Captain Gladding. For its formation the labors, in the preceding year, of the Rev. Lemuel Smith and the Rev. Menzies Rainor, had prepared the way. It numbered about sixteen persons, Daniel Gladding, William Pearce, Allen Wardwell, Jonathan Peek, Nathaniel Munro, George Sandford, John Gladding, Sylvester Munro, William Throope Waldron, and Benjamin Doty, being among its members. The first quarterly meeting of the society was held in the fall of 1792, and the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper was the first presiding elder to visit the church after its formation. Services were at first held in the Court House; "not," says

* From a descendant of Mrs. Potter, the author gained this information, and also first learned that Mr. Whitefield had preached in Bristol. It would seem that the great preacher was detained by the rain, and that on this account he desired the shelter of a roof. It is said that he possessed a voice of such wondrous power, that when he was preaching in Market Street, Philadelphia, its tones could be heard on the opposite shore of New Jersey, and that the crews of the vessels upon the Delaware River could distinguish his words.

† This date is taken from the *Annals of Bristol*. Captain Gladding's house is still standing on Thames Street, next south of the Sugar Refinery.

Mr. Stevens, "without much annoyance from the rabble, who concerted numerous plans to disturb and break up their meetings."

Not very promising appeared the prospects of the society in those early days, and the story of the persecutions showered upon its members seems now almost incredible. "In the spring of 1795, three of the most important families of the church left the town, and the society became so discouraged and reduced, both in numbers and resources, that a house could not be found to accommodate the preacher at his periodical visits." * Thomas Coope was then upon the circuit. He announced, one day, that he could visit the town no more, unless a lodging was provided for him. "About this time, two young ladies joined the dwindling church, and entered with the warmest sympathy into all its necessities and trials. They immediately exerted themselves to procure a 'prophet's chamber,' and the funds necessary to continue Methodist preaching in the town. Their pious diligence was successful. Means were provided, the lodging procured, and made all right just before what would otherwise have been their last meeting. Thus was the germ of Methodism in Bristol saved from utter decay." †

In 1803 the first decided action was taken respecting the erection of a house of worship. In that year permission was granted by the town to William Lindsay and others to place a church building on the southwest corner of the Common. (The only public building standing upon the front of the Common at that time was the Academy. This had been erected in 1791; it stood where the Court House now stands.) The funds for its erection were procured by subscription in the succeeding year, the year of Bishop Coke's ‡ visit to the

* *Memorials of Methodism*, page 264.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Thomas Coke was an Englishman, a graduate of Oxford, and a curate in the Established Church. Having joined the Methodists, he became an assistant of Wesley, and in 1784 was ordained by him as Superintendent (not as Bishop,—Wesley rejected that title,) of the Methodist Church in America. At Baltimore, Dec. 25, 1784, the church was organized under his direction. In this town he preached both in the Court House and in St. Michael's Church, his ordination in the Church of England securing him the use of the latter. During his visit in Bristol he stayed at the house of the late William Pearse, on Hope Street.

town. In 1805 the *outside* of a plain, wooden building, two stories high, forty feet wide, and fifty feet long, was completed; rough benches for a time served for seats; a year afterward the *inside* was finished.* Galleries were built on three sides — north, south, and west — and in the west gallery the singers were placed. In this building services were held until the present church was completed. It is now standing upon Wood Street, and is used as an armory by the Light Infantry Company.

The revivals of 1812 and 1820 seemed to assure for the church a career of continued prosperity; the first brought it about a hundred members. More than twice that number sought its communion as a result of the second. But dark days were coming. In the year 1832 the trial of Ephraim K. Avery, for a crime very similar in its nature to that for which the Rev. Mr. Hayden was lately arraigned in Connecticut, threw the community into a state of intense excitement. Nor was the excitement confined to Bristol; it passed beyond the boundaries of Rhode Island. Very quickly the eyes of New England, and indeed of the whole country, were turned upon this town, with an interest far exceeding that manifested in the late Hayden trial. Mr. Avery was acquitted by the judges before whom his case was brought, but under such circumstances that the verdict was hardly more favorable than a conviction would have been. The question of his innocence was by no means decided, and for months the action of the court was the subject of the most bitter discussion throughout the country. Naturally, though of course unjustly, the Methodist Church suffered from the obloquy its minister had incurred. All through the land it reeled under the stunning effects of the blow. To the society in this place the wound was almost mortal. One of the ablest ministers of the denomination, Charles K. True, a man who afterwards earned for himself a highly honorable name, was

* The pews were made in the plainest style possible, yet Bishop Ashbury, when he visited the town in 1806, protested earnestly against their use. They appeared to him to savor rather of Presbyterianism than of Methodism.

sent to succeed Mr. Avery, but his untiring efforts seemed to have almost no reviving effect; not for many years was the lost vigor regained.

Sept. 17, 1856, the present church was dedicated, the Rev. Dr. Shepard, of the Congregational Church, and the Rev. Joseph Trapnell, of St. Michael's Church, taking part in the services. From the *Phoenix*, of Sept. 27, the following account is taken:—

"The house is located on the north side of State Street, between Hope and High streets, and is built of wood. It was designed by Perez Mason, Esq., of Providence, and built under the superintendence of Mr. Philip B. Bourne, of this town. Its dimensions are 62 x 80 feet, with a beautifully proportioned spire, 162 feet in height. On the first floor is a large and airy vestry, a large room designed for the ladies' sewing-circle, and another room for committees, etc. The upper part of the house contains 120 pews, and side galleries with twelve pews in each. The pulpit is situated in a recess at the north end of the house. The orchestra is at the south end, containing a fine-toned organ, manufactured by Simmons & Co., of Boston, at an expense of \$1,500. The pews, galleries, and orchestra, are grained a rich oak color—the work was executed by James Dawson, of New York. The pulpit is of polished black walnut, designed and executed by Mr. J. S. Weeden, of this town, and is an elegant specimen of workmanship. In the rear of the pulpit is a splendid sofa, also manufactured by Mr. Weeden. The walls are richly ornamented with waterproof fresco; the ceiling and perspective are perfectly beautiful. The design and execution was by J. Stanley D'Orsay, artist, of New York. The house is lighted with gas, which emits its bright flame from five neat chandeliers, and gives a most pleasing effect to the beauty of the house. In its appearance, the entire house is chaste and beautiful. . . . An elegant communion service was presented to the church by a highly respected member of the Episcopal Church.* The whole cost of the structure, including the organ, the furnishing, the lot of land on which it stands, and a neat iron fence which encloses the premises, is \$23,000. Up to the present writing, pews have been sold to the amount of \$15,000. Some fifty pews remain unsold, but will undoubtedly be disposed of in a few weeks."

To give even a slight account of the lives of the ministers who have been placed in charge of the church, is of course impossible. Such an account would be virtually a history of the Methodist Church in New England, from its foundation until the present time. Nearly all the men famous in the

* Mr. Lemuel C. Richmond.

early days of Methodism served for a while in this town: and the importance of the station has secured for it the ministrations of some of the ablest men of the denomination in these later years.

Of the earlier preachers, Joseph Snelling was more prominently connected with this town than any other. No man, indeed, ever served this church longer than he. In 1796 he was first placed upon the circuit: in 1800 the church was



The Methodist Episcopal Church.

again assigned him, and in 1805 he was working here for the third time. To this post he was again sent for the succeeding year. In that year a great revival attended his labors.* When the Conference again met, in 1806, the church in Bristol deemed his presence so necessary, that it sent an agent to request his reappointment. Says Mr. Snelling, in his *Life*: "As I had already been there two years in succession, I told our friends I had no idea their request would be granted, as it was contrary to the rules of our discipline. When the question was brought forward Bishop Asbury at first said it could not be, and gave a peremptory refusal; but having considered the matter, and by the earnest solicitation of our friends, he at last consented for me to go. My station was now Warren and Bristol; it before was called Bristol and Somerset. I preached very little in Warren, as there was a local preacher living there, but spent my time chiefly at Bris-

* This revival does not appear to have extended beyond the Methodist Church.

tol." This was one of the earliest instances in which the spirit of the rule of itinerancy was broken : its letter was observed by changing the designation of the station. Of Mr. Snelling, *Stevens* says : " He has been characterized by moderate, but good talents, hearty and successful zeal, a temper full of sweetness, and manners of an endearing amiability. All who have known him have loved him."

The great revival of 1812-13, during which " more than four hundred converts joined the Methodist Church in this State," permanently connects the name of Asa Kent with this town. Mr. Kent was born in West Brookfield, Mass., May 9, 1780. He began preaching in 1802, and in 1812 was stationed in this town. His earnest and effective service in those wonderful days made his reappointment a matter of course in the succeeding year. From 1814 to 1817, he continued to direct the affairs of this church, as the presiding elder of the district. (The district then embraced Rhode Island and a part of Massachusetts.) In 1822-23 he was " superannuated," but for many years continued to preach. His last appointment was Edgartown, Mass. He was a delegate from New England to the General Conference at New York, 1812, and to the Conference at Baltimore in 1816. He died on the 1st of September, 1860. For almost sixty years his name had been called at the commencement of each annual conference. Of him, Bishop Haven says : " He attracted audiences by his quaintness : he edified them by his soundness of doctrine and simplicity of faith." In the " minute " of his death, entered upon the records of the conference, he is described as a " good preacher, rich in Christian experience and original thought ; a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith."

The Rev. Thomas W. Tucker was the pastor in the still more wonderful revival of 1820. The story of his life was told by his wife in a book published eight years ago (*Itinerant Preaching*). His experiences were the experiences of all who took the " traveling connection " in that day ; for the Methodist rule of itinerancy assigns the same fortunes to its preachers, and for the most part crushes out individualism. Mr. Tucker found the church weak and languishing,—almost

entirely destitute of spiritual vigor. He left it strong and triumphant,—a power in the community and the State. Before he left Bristol, in the summer of 1820, he received 220 into the society, and twenty more joined it after he left the town.* But the health of the preacher suffered from the excessive labor which the revival imposed upon him. Five years later, having been forced for a time to relinquish his work, he found among the people whose spiritual zeal he had done so much to awaken, the rest that had become an imperative necessity. Mr. Tucker possessed a very sweet and melodious voice, one of the most necessary endowments in a successful Methodist minister: it was equally effective in prayer-meetings and in sick-rooms, and aided greatly “his beautiful gift in prayer.” He died Aug. 6, 1871, in the eighty-first year of his age. While Mr. Tucker was laboring as an exhorter in the city of Boston, he was instrumental in securing to the service of the church, the unique talents of a rough young sailor, who afterwards acquired a world-wide celebrity.

“The year was 1810, and the occasion an awakening-meeting in the vestry of the Bromfield Street Church. A powerful discourse had been preached by that gifted and stirring preacher, Elijah Hedding, and several awakened individuals had, in response to the general invitation, come forward to the altar, when Mr. Tucker, who was an active, zealous young member, noticed a roughly clad, and rough appearing individual, apparently a sailor, who seemed much distressed in mind. Approaching him, Mr. Tucker kindly urged him to go forward with the other inquirers and kneel at the altar. Though reluctant at first, he finally yielded, and, in the course of the evening, he came out of his trial triumphantly. He never forgot the agency of Mr. Tucker in his conversion, and always, after embracing and kissing him in his impulsive manner, would address him as ‘My dear Father,’ ‘My earthly Savior.’ Mr. Tucker has often said that Edward T. Taylor, at the time of his conversion, was, to all appearances, one of the roughest and most unpromising specimens of a sailor that he had ever seen, and gave but faint promise of a brilliant career. The rough diamond was then uncut.”

Father Taylor himself used to say, in describing the events of that night: “I was dragged through the lubber-hole (he had climbed through the window of the chapel instead of

* In the succeeding year 1821 the church building was enlarged to accommodate its increased congregation. It was sawed in two, and lengthened by the addition of several feet.

entering by the door), brought down by a broadside from the seventy-four (Mr. Hedding), and fell into the arms of Thomas W. Tucker."

The famous "Sailor Preacher" was stationed at Bristol in 1826, two years before he entered upon that wonderful career in Boston. Many books might be written concerning him. In some respects he was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived. Says Dr. Bartol: "No American citizen — Webster, Clay, Everett, Lincoln, Choate — has a reputation more impressive. In the hall of memory his spiritual statue will forever have its own niche. What is his peculiar place? He belonged to no class. In any dogma he was neither leader nor led. He is the sailor's representative. Those were landsmen. He stands for the sea, the greatest delegate the ocean has sent upon the stage of any purely intellectual calling, at least in this part of the world; and his fame has been borne into thousands of ships, by almost millions of mariners, who have christened him Father, into every port and commercial city of the globe. The sailor says he has been in places where the United States had not been heard of, but not where Father Taylor had not; while the universal eagerness of all other classes to hear him has been scarce less than of the navigators, who make so great a division of our fellow-men."

The name of Isaac Bonney is still well remembered by the Methodist Church in Bristol. Mr. Bonney was born at Hardwick, Mass., Sept. 26, 1782. He became a member of the New England Conference in 1808, and was five times stationed in this town. His biographer says: "So generally acceptable was Father Bonney that he was frequently returned to the same appointment, at the earnest desire of the people.

. . . As a man he was of noble bearing, of strong and vigorous constitution. . . . As a pastor, he was faithful, especially in his attention to the sick. . . . His influence in the Conference was great. . . . He took an active part in the reforms of the day; temperance, education, and anti-slavery received his cordial support, and he was truly a good minister of Jesus Christ." In 1850 Mr. Bonney came

to Bristol to spend the remainder of his days. Many are the recollections that have been called up whenever his name has been mentioned in preparing this sketch of the church. His mind was always bright and active, and he was oftentimes exceedingly happy in the use of language, and in repartee.* "Father Bonney" was very much interested in the erection of the new church. He lived to see its corner-stone laid, but not to witness its completion. While on a visit to some friends in Marlboro', Mass., he died on the 16th of September, 1855.

The present pastor, William Veach Morrison, D. D., was born in West Middlesex, Penn., Jan. 23, 1830. He graduated at Alleghany College, Meadville, Penn., in 1854, and afterwards spent three years at Concord, N. H., in the theological school that has since been merged in the Boston University. From this school he graduated in 1857, and in the same year joined the Providence Conference at its session in this town. His first charge was at Millville, Mass. In 1874 he was made presiding elder of the Fall River District, retaining the post for four years. But for a rule of the episcopacy forbidding the appointment of a presiding elder for a second consecutive term, this office would have been assigned to him a second time, in accordance with a request of the churches he had served. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his *Alma Mater* in 1877.

The following list of the ministers who have been assigned to duty in this town, is the only complete one yet made. It is believed to be correct, having been verified, as far as possible, by reference to the "Minutes" of the annual conferences, and to the biographical sketches of the old preachers, that have been published from time to time. It is possible that other names should be added in the earlier years. The fact that assignments were at one time made for a shorter period than one year, that they were made to the circuit and

* To a member of the congregation, who had asked him one day if he had a good garden, he replied: "No, sir, I have not a good garden, but I have a very good *basinet*." Many such apt speeches might be recorded; this suffices to show his character.

not to the town, and that the year for which the assignments are still made is not the calendar year, makes the task of tracing the appointments a difficult one. The town was for the first time recognized as a separate station in 1804, but several times after that date its minister was required to include Warren, Somerset, and sometimes Rhode Island, in his field of labor.

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|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1790. Jesse Lee. | 1816. John Lindsey. |
| 1791. Lemuel Smith. | 1817. Benjamin Sabin. |
| Menziez Rainor. | 1818-19. Thomas W. Tucker. |
| 1792. Lemuel Smith. | 1820-21. Isaac Bonney. |
| 1793. Philip Wager. | 1822. John W. Hardy. |
| Enoch Mudge. | 1823-24. Timothy Merritt. |
| 1794. John Chalmers. | 1825. Phineas Peck. |
| 1795. Zadoc Priest. | 1826. Edward T. Taylor. |
| Cyrus Stebbins. | 1827. Charles Virgin. |
| Thomas Coope. | 1828. Leonard Griffin. |
| 1796. Daniel Ostrander. | 1829. Isaac Bonney. |
| Joseph Snelling. | 1830. Ira M. Bidwell. |
| 1797. Nathaniel Chapin. | 1831. Lewis Bates. |
| Wesley Budd. | 1832. Ephraim K. Avery. |
| 1798. Jordan Rexford. | 1833. Charles K. True. |
| Daniel Webb. | 1834-35. Jefferson Haskell. |
| John Broadhead. | 1836. John Lovejoy. |
| 1799. Ezekiel Canfield. | 1837-38. James C. Boutecon. |
| Joshua Hall. | 1839-40. Ephraim Scott. |
| Truman Bishop. | 1841-42. Charles Noble. |
| 1800. Joseph Snelling. | 1842-43. Van Renssalaer Osborn. |
| Solomon Langdon. | 1843-44. Hebron Vincent. |
| 1801. John Finnegan. | 1844-45-46. Isaac Bonney. |
| Daniel Fidler. | 1846-47-48. Jonathan Cady. |
| 1802. Reuben Hubbard. | 1848-49-50. Richard Livesey. |
| Caleb Morris. | 1850-51. Frederick Upham. |
| Allen H. Cobb. | 1851-52-53. Elihu Grant. |
| 1803. Alexander McLane. | 1853-54. George W. Stearns. |
| Noble W. Thomas. | 1854-55-56. Henry H. Smith. |
| Thomas Lyell. | 1856-57-58. Andrew McKeown. |
| 1804. Alexander McLane. | 1858-59. William Livesey. |
| 1805. Joseph Snelling. | 1859-60. Henry Baylies. |
| Nehemiah Coye. | 1860-61-62. David H. Ela. |
| Ebenezer Easty. | 1862-63-64. Samuel F. Upham. |
| 1806-7. Joseph Snelling. | 1864-65-66. Micah J. Talbot. |
| 1808. Jordan Rexford. | 1866-67-68. T. Snowden Thomas. |
| 1809. Samuel Merwin. | 1868-69-70. Daniel A. Whedon, D. D. |
| 1810. Nehemiah Coye. | 1870-71. George L. Westgate. |
| 1811. Thomas Asbury. | 1871-72. Edgar M. Smith. |
| 1812-13. Asa Kent. | 1872-73-74. William T. Harlow. |
| 1814. Edward Hyde. | 1875-76-77. Edward Edson. |
| 1815. Benjamin R. Hoyt. | 1878-79-80. Wm. V. Morrison, D. D. |

The principal officers of the society are as follows: —

Trustees — Francis Bourn, President; George H. Burgess, Secretary; John W. Pearce, Treasurer; David Waldron, Peter Gladding, Walter B. Stanton, James T. Freeborn, Richard B. Franklin, George W. Simmons. *Stewards* — Mason Pearce, Ambrose Waldron, George J. Smith, Robert Gregg, George H. Peck, Edward Talbee, John Lawrence, William Smith, Ezra Dixon. *Class Leaders* — Richard B. Franklin, A. F. Marchant, Edward Fish, William R. Peck. *Superintendent of Sunday School* — George H. Peck.

Whole number of members of the church in full connection,	327
Whole number of probationers,	81
Total,	408
Number in Sunday School,	310

NOTE. Since the foregoing pages were printed, the author has learned that the date of the formation of the first class, given on page 263, is not the correct one. The church was founded in the summer of 1791, and is therefore the oldest, but one, of the Methodist Churches in New England. The church in Lynn, Mass., only is older. In the year 1791 Jesse Lee made a second visit to the town. It was during this visit, and through his personal efforts, that the church sprang into existence. The Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Upham is the authority for this statement. While Dr. Upham was the pastor of the church, he prepared a very full and complete sketch of its early history, some of its first members being then alive and able to supply the needed information. This sketch, unfortunately, was never published. Some time ago it passed out of its author's hands, and cannot now be found. Its loss is very greatly to be deplored.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE VOYAGE OF "NORWEST JOHN."

ON the thirteenth day of August, 1804, the ship "Juno" sailed out from the harbor of Bristol. Three months before, the vessel had brought into the town the first cargo it had ever received from a Chinese port. Now, as it passed away from sight, longing eyes watched its departure with an interest far exceeding that which a short time before had greeted its arrival. Another pioneer voyage was before it. Not until three years had dragged away did the beholders hope again to gaze upon it. It was bound for the northwest coast. Only a few years had elapsed since the enterprise of Boston had opened this new avenue to wealth, and the dangers, from hostile natives and unknown reefs, that still attended the voyage, deterred all but the most venturesome spirits from embarking their fortunes in such an enterprise.

The "Juno" was a full-rigged ship of two hundred and fifty tons, and was considered in every respect a "crack" vessel. She was filled with a cargo of goods, to be bartered for furs with the natives, and was worth, with her cargo, \$35,000. On account of the dangerous business before her, a battery of eight guns had been placed on her decks, and she had likewise been provided with all the necessary implements of war. Her principal owners were James, Charles, and George DeWolf, and her captain was a relative of theirs, a young man only twenty-four years of age, John DeWolf. Her crew numbered twenty-six men, all told. They were Samuel G. Newell and John A. Thomas, mates; James Moorfield, clerk; Richard Cam-

mett and Joseph Hooper, armorers ; Thomas Hunt, boat-swain ; John Jones, carpenter ; D. Bucklin, E. Bucklin, W. H. Tripp, D. Tatton, J. Stokes, J. Wheeler, W. Foy, J. Marshall, J. D. Cook, W. Phipps, J. Wheesner, J. Powers, S. Patterson, seamen ; J. Hanson, cook ; E. D. Parker, musician ; R. Hitchcock, tailor ; and T. Murphy and J. Mahoney, boys.

Captain DeWolf passed the Cape Verde Islands, Sept. 24th. He was fifty-six days in reaching "the Line," and crossed it in 24° west longitude. He filled the water-casks from the dense rains that came down while the vessel was lying becalmed upon the equatorial seas. Not long afterwards the ship "Mary," bound from Boston on a similar voyage, was spoken, and the two captains agreed to "double the Horn" together, — not an unusual arrangement in those days. Through the carelessness of the "Mary" the ships collided (fortunately without injury) not long after, and the agreement was consequently broken. Having rounded "the Horn," the "Mary" was again met on the 13th of December, and the ships sailed in company until Dec. 29th. The "Juno" had then been 138 days out ; her copper was badly worn away in places, and her stock of fuel was exhausted, so that only once each week could any cooking be done ; her captain therefore deemed it best to put into the nearest Chilian port to repair damages, and to take on board a supply of wood. On the 8th of January the "Juno" reached Valparaiso, but was at once ordered to leave the bay. The United States were then only a feeble nation ; the English were all powerful upon the South American coast, and no favors were shown to American ships. Captain DeWolf, nevertheless, remained at anchor long enough to take on a supply of wood and water, and then sailed for Coquimbo. At Coquimbo the necessary repairs were made. Leaving that port, Jan. 28th, on the 7th of April Vancouver's Island was sighted, and preparations for trading were at once begun.

On the 10th of April the "Juno" dropped anchor at New-ettee, and found there the ship "Pearl," of Boston. New-ettee was only an inlet for trading, and the market had

already been very thoroughly gleaned by the "Pearl." From thence the vessel proceeded to Kygarney, picking up a few furs at various points on the way. At Kygarney were found the ships "Vancouver" and "Caroline," of Boston. From that port the "Juno" sailed to Magee's Harbor, on Norfolk Sound, and anchored off the Russian fort. The governor of the Russian post was an officer of sixty-five years, who had spent eighteen years upon the coast. Captain DeWolf wisely made his acquaintance, and found him very genial and entertaining. The lot of a Russian governor in that far-off region was not an enviable one, and the advent of this bright American captain must have been to him very pleasant. At this port the supply of furs was not large, so down the coast the "Juno" sailed again to Newetsee. Here were the "Lydia," the "Vancouver," and the "Atawhalpa," as well as the "Pearl" and the "Mary," all of Boston. The "Atawhalpa," while lying at anchor near the shore, had been attacked by the natives. Her captain and all the officers had been killed, and many of her crew had been wounded. Not long after this the "Juno" grounded while cruising too near the shore, and was left high upon the rocks, so that a man could walk under her, when the tide went down. With the fate of the "Atawhalpa" before their eyes, not much rest came to the crew until the returning tide floated them again into safety. The contact with the rocks had greatly damaged the copper upon the ship's bottom. Captain DeWolf therefore determined to go to Norfolk Sound to make the necessary repairs under the protection of the guns of the Russian fort. On the 20th of August he sent one thousand sea-otter skins home by the "Mary."

At Norfolk Sound the ship was beached, and found to be very much injured. Her commander, notwithstanding this fact, made preparations for a voyage to California. He purposed taking with him fifty or sixty of the Kodiak Indians, to catch the sea-otters, whose skins were so valuable. But while waiting for these Indians a Russian brig arrived, whose coming entirely changed his plans. On this brig was a noble-

man, Nicholas Resanoff by name, one of the proprietors of the Russian American Company. Resanoff had lately been appointed an ambassador to Japan. He had come to the post to build a vessel in which to visit that country and the coast of California. Captain DeWolf jestingly offered to sell him the "Juno," and to his surprise found the Russian very anxious to conclude a bargain. The result of the jest was that the "Juno" (and her remaining cargo) was sold for \$68,000. Captain DeWolf received: — Bills of exchange on the Russian American Company's Directors at St. Petersburg, \$54,638; 572 sea-otter skins, valued at \$13,062; Cash, \$300. A difficulty had at first arisen respecting the disposition to be made with the crew of the "Juno." To meet this difficulty the Russian placed at the disposal of the Americans a small craft of forty tons — completely rigged, with two suits of sails, four guns, thirty muskets with necessary ammunition, and provisions for the crew for one hundred days. This little vessel, the "Yermerk," was at once sent to Canton in charge of the first mate and the clerk. Captain DeWolf remained behind, with Parker as an attendant. Baron Resanoff had invited him to take an overland journey to St. Petersburg, and the spirit of the young sailor leaped with delight at such a rare opportunity of beholding the vast Russian Empire.

The "Juno" sailed away on her voyage, and the two Americans were left at the post to await her return. The Rhode Island captain was by no means idle. His roommate was a German naturalist and doctor, named Langsdorff, and the two roamed at will through the surrounding country. The food furnished to the lower classes was not remarkable in quantity or quality. Dried fish, beans, and oil, were the staple articles. The officers lived well, and danced much to while away the time. The Sitka Indians regarded the strange foreigner with a very favorable eye, and showed him many kindnesses. The governor also took him at once to his heart. Together, they made the first garden ever known at New Archangel (and got quite "blue" afterward in celebrat-

ing that noteworthy event, wrote the Captain, more than half a century afterward, in describing it).

Captain DeWolf was disappointed in his plan for leaving the place. A twenty-five ton vessel was at last given him by the governor, and on the 30th of June, 1806, he sailed proudly away from the sound as skipper of this remarkable craft. His friend, Dr. Langsdorff, accompanied him. Parker, of course, shared his fortunes. His crew numbered seven men. But the vessel was a "tub"; it never made more than five knots an hour, under the most favorable circumstances. From port to port they went, and at one place took on board two passengers, a widow and her eighteen-year-old daughter. The widow brought with her a stock of provisions, several barrels of eggs put up in oil, smoked geese, dried and pickled fish, etc. The superintendent objected to the departure of the widow, but it seemed a matter of humanity to take her home from that barren coast, and the officer's objections vanished in the barrel of the "ardent" which was placed at his disposal.

The dreary Arctic ice covered the waters in the early fall, and on the 22d of September the "tub" was obliged to put into Petropowlowsk for the winter. This afforded the Bristol sailor an opportunity for mastering the art of sledging. He also acted as godfather at a christening, making fifteen circuits round a tub with the other participants in the ceremony, as a part of the exercises. On the 26th of May, with eighteen persons, all told, on board, he left the winter harbor, and on the 27th of June reached Ochotsk in safety.

Then the most novel part of the journey began. From Ochotsk, the "Great American Captain" was sent on with all haste to Yakutsk, on the Lena River, five hundred miles away, special horses being furnished him from the post stations along the route. Thence, in a hired boat, he went up the Lena River to Irkutsk, the capital of Siberia. Every time he stopped, crowds flocked together to see the wonderful curiosity, "the Great American Captain on a boat, going on government business." To Tomsk, the journey was made by *per-*

voska — a box rounded at the bottom and fastened to the axle-tree. It had a covered half-top like a cradle ; the captain put in a feather bed and pillows, thinking thus to "get along without much chafing." Vain hope — he reached Tomsk "used up." The patent *pervoska* in which he had taken so much pride, was a delusion. He got one on springs instead, with room for two, and took in a passenger, Dementy Simonitch. With him he journeyed to Tobolsk, the ancient capital of Siberia. There he noted the peculiarities of a Russian leave-taking. The ladies and gentlemen took their places in a row. The gentlemen laid their right hands on each others backs, and kissed each other on the cheeks. The ladies kissed the gentlemen upon the cheek, but gave in return only the back of their right hands to be saluted ; a most aggravating proceeding it was to the impulsive young sailor, who was sorely tempted to violate etiquette in the case of one young lady of great beauty. From Tobolsk, he passed to Ekaterinburg, to Moscow, to St. Petersburg, — *the first American who had made that wonderful journey.* His bills of exchange had been made for Spanish dollars. They were at fifteen per cent. premium. On the first day of April, 1808, after an absence of three years and eight months, Captain DeWolf returned to his home in this town. In two years and six months from the day when the "Juno" sailed out of the port, her owners had received the net proceeds of the voyage. *It resulted in a clear profit of one hundred thousand dollars.*

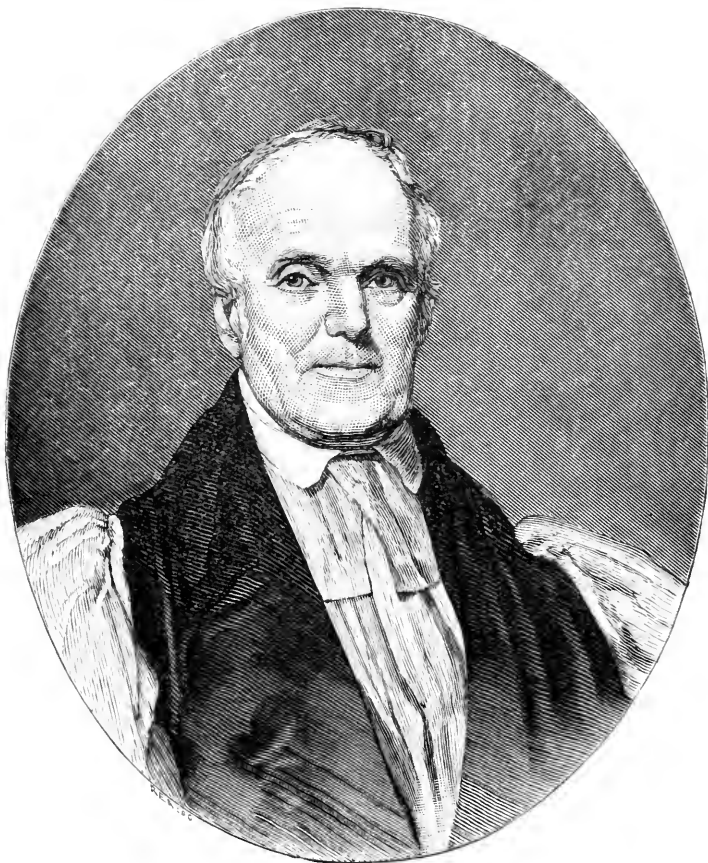
It is not to be wondered at that the sobriquet of "Norwest John" was for years one most familiar to Bristol lips, and well might its owner be proud of the designation. It was given him on his return, to distinguish him from others who bore the name of John DeWolf. It clung to him until his death. A rare old age was vouchsafed him. He retired from the seas in 1828, and for some dozen years devoted himself to the cultivation of the farm near Mount Hope, on which Bishop Howe now lives. About the year 1840, he removed to Roxbury, Mass. Late in life he printed in book form the account of his voyage, from which the foregoing abstract was made. He died in Dorchester, Mass., March 8, 1872, aged 92.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BISHOP GRISWOLD AND THE GREAT REVIVALS.

ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD was born in Simsbury, Hartford County, Conn., April 22, 1766. Elisha Griswold, his father, was descended from Matthew Griswold, an Englishman, who came to America about the year 1630. His mother was the grand-daughter of Alexander Viets, a German physician who settled in Connecticut during the first half of the eighteenth century. His parents on both sides "were respectable, and considered wealthy in a town where few, if any, were possessed of larger estates." In his early youth he displayed the quick intelligence, the amiable disposition, and the love of study, which marked his whole life.

The Rev. Roger Viets, his maternal uncle, was a graduate of Yale College, a fine scholar, and a man of very unusual abilities; he possessed the largest and best library of the region in which he lived. At the age of ten young Griswold went to live with this uncle. His days were spent in labor upon a farm; the evenings were devoted to study. Mr. Viets was a most excellent teacher; he saw the great capabilities of his nephew, and did all that was in his power to develop his latent talents. It was at first intended that the young man should be educated at Yale College, but the means of his father were so straightened during the troubled years of the Revolution, that it was deemed best for him to be prepared for entrance to the senior class. The close of the struggle for Independence prevented this plan from being carried into effect. Mr. Viets



RT. REV. A. V. GRISWOLD, D. D.

was one of the clergymen who remained loyal to the English Crown. A living in Nova Scotia was offered him by the "Propagation Society," and he accepted it. He urged his nephew to accompany him to his new field of labor. The young man determined to forego the honor of a college diploma, and to accept the invitation. His uncle's careful teaching and carefully selected library (every book of which young Griswold had read) had undoubtedly prepared him as well for his life's work, as a college course of four years in those unsettled times could have done.

For some time he had been tenderly attached to Elizabeth Mitchelson, the daughter of a neighboring farmer. The journey to remote Nova Scotia was then one that could be accomplished only with great difficulty, and at very great cost. Frequent communication with Connecticut was out of the question. When Mr. Griswold might return to claim his bride was uncertain. The pair were married, and together prepared to set out for their new home. This step, taken to facilitate the departure for Nova Scotia, was really the means of preventing it altogether. The relatives of Mrs. Griswold deemed the bleak northern climate too severe for her delicate frame, and persuaded her husband to remain in Connecticut. Thus, the future bishop was not allowed to bury himself in the obscurity of a remote province, but was saved for the useful and honorable career that awaited him in New England.

In 1794 he determined to become a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, and was that year admitted as a candidate for orders. In the following June he was ordained as deacon, and in October, 1795, was advanced to the priesthood by Bishop Seabury. His first charge was in Litchfield County, Conn. It comprised the parishes of Plymouth, Harwinton, and Litchfield. Says Dr. Stone, in his *Life of the Bishop*: "His ministry in Litchfield County was as humble as it was laborious; but it left behind a gracious, sweet savor, which is tasted with satisfaction in the remembrances yet living among the hills." Part of his support was earned by labor upon a farm. In the harvest time he often worked as a day laborer

for seventy-five cents per day. He was a man of mighty frame, and herculean strength; "one of his day's works was worth as much as that of two common men." Many are the incidents that have been transmitted concerning that humble life.

"On a general view of the first ten years of his ministry, Mr. Griswold is found to have acted in various capacities: as a teacher of the district school in the winter; as a day laborer among his parishioners in the summer; and as a sharer in all the lowly occupations and cares of a country life among the retired hills of Connecticut; as well as in the proper duties of his office as a Christian teacher and spiritual pastor to his flock. He shunned nothing in truth that could bring him into most familiar and unguarded intercourse with his people. . . . And yet, in all his familiarity with them, in the harvest field, by the wayside, in his fishing excursions by night, in his school discipline of the urchins committed to his care, in all his unbendings and minglings with his people, he never forgot his character as a minister of Christ; was never off his guard; never said, or did, on week days, what could mar his proper influence on the Sabbath; when he entered the house of God, and spoke as an ambassador for Christ, there was nothing to detract from the power of his speech, or to counteract the influence of his wise instructions." *

In 1803 he visited Bristol, not with any idea of leaving his post in Connecticut, but simply to see a country that was new to him, and to obtain a little relaxation. The parish of St. Michael was then without a rector, and he was invited to take charge of it. He declined the invitation. The prospects of increased usefulness, or of personal advantage, did not seem

* Stone's *Life of Bishop Griswold*, 88-89. "Riding along the road one day, he passed the garden of one of his parishioners, who was a justice of the peace. The 'Squire' was preparing to remove a rock, or large stone, from his garden ground. The earth had been dug from around it; and 'Squire W. and his men were lifting hard, but in vain, to remove it. Seeing this, Mr. Griswold sprang from his horse, leaped the garden fence, and, though in his best dress, seized the fresh earthed stone, and, with an exertion of his almost herculean strength, helped them heave it from its bed. Such were his habits of intercourse with his flock."

to him to warrant the change. The parish was offered to him a second time, and he again refused it. In his autobiography he says : " I then supposed I should hear no more from Bristol. But, about the middle of the following winter, to my surprise, one of their most respectable parishioners, Mr. William Pearse, a warden of the church, appeared at my house with still more pressing solicitations that I should take the charge of that destitute parish ; urging many reasons why it was my duty to consent to the change. This affected me seriously, and there seemed to be in it a call of Divine Providence. To leave a people who had been so uniformly kind to me, and all of whom, without exception, *I had reason to believe, would be grieved* at my leaving them, excited in my mind a painful struggle, which they only who have been called to the like trial, can realize. It is sufficient to say that with fear and trembling I gave my consent, and in May, 1804, one year after my first visit there, I was in Bristol with my family. Bishop Jarvis had given his consent that I should spend a few years there, though at the same time expressing a wish that I should, after that, return to his diocese."

It was through the liberality of James DeWolf, that the transfer was accomplished. A small vessel belonging to Mr. DeWolf, was by him sent to Hartford, the port upon the Connecticut River nearest to Harwinton, to transport Mr. Griswold and his household to Bristol. Harwinton was distant some twenty miles from the river. Capt. John DeWolf, who had not yet earned his famous sobriquet, was sent in charge of the vessel.

Mr. Griswold found about twenty-five families connected with the church. There were not quite as many communicants. The town numbered, perhaps, two thousand inhabitants. It was full of energy and physical vigor. Its wharves were lined with vessels from the West Indian ports, and it was just beginning to engage in the more extensive commerce with Europe and the East, that afterward made it so famous. But very little interest was felt in religious matters. In some respects, therefore, the change was not a promotion for the new

rector. He had left three large parishes, with more than two hundred communicants, to assume the spiritual direction of one with hardly one-tenth of that number. Yet the removal seems to have been providentially brought about. Unseen forces were at work in Bristol, and the presence of Mr. Griswold was as potent as any other influence in producing the change in the moral atmosphere of the town. The annual income (mostly derived from the Kay bequest) of the rector of the parish was at this time about six hundred dollars per annum, — too small a sum to support the large family of Mr. Griswold, in a place where the expenses of living were larger than in most towns in New England. He was therefore obliged to eke out his income by teaching a select school. The same life of self-denial and lowly toil seemed before him that had been his lot in Connecticut.

The new rector found that in some respects his parish was very different from his old field of labor. During the first years of his ministry political excitement was unusually fierce throughout the country, and from many of the "Orthodox" pulpits, fiery sermons were delivered, that discussed in the freest manner the party questions that were daily arising. Into this discussion Mr. Griswold never entered. Even in familiar conversation it was exceedingly difficult to ascertain his political views. In his pulpit such themes were never alluded to.

"His early preaching, like that which generally prevailed in our church at that time, was rather moral than evangelical; that is, devoted more to the illustration and enforcement of the moral precepts and virtues of Christianity, than to the development and application of the spiritual truths and doctrines of the Gospel. . . . In his moral preaching, however, there was a point, a plainness, and a sort of quickening vitality." * In Connecticut more than in any other state was there exceeding intolerance in the matter of religious belief. The Calvinists of that State sneered at the Episcopalians as formalists and bigots; the Episcopalians looked upon the

* Dr. Stone's *Life*.

Calvinists as fanatics. From the pulpits of both religious bodies sermons were delivered that dwelt almost entirely upon sectarian divisions, and matters of controversy. The following extract from the bishop's autobiography, written when he was seventy-four years of age, is therefore specially interesting :—

“In Rhode Island I found a materially different condition of things. Those of my sermons, which, in Connecticut had appeared to be most acceptable, and were most applauded, gave offense in Bristol, Providence, and Newport; and I soon found that, by continuing the controversial style of preaching, some of her most pious members would be driven from the church. This was particularly true of those called Methodists. They had recently formed a society in Bristol, consisting of a few respectable people, who had been communicants in the Congregational Church. On my arrival in Bristol, they had a minister who preached for them one-half of the time; and as I was informed (too late, indeed), they at once passed a resolution in their meeting, that they would for the other half, attend my ministry. It has since been my belief, that had I, in my teaching at that time, followed the example of St. Paul, (1 Cor. ii., 2; ix., 19-22) they would have united with the Episcopal Church. But, the Lord reigns; and perhaps He ordered it for the best. The Episcopal Church was soon filled; and the Methodists soon had a large society there, and have been instrumental of much good. So far as I know, I was, of our clergy in New England, *the first to hold evening lectures*. Though this is now a thing so common, yet it was then by many of our good people exceedingly disliked. Our Bishop in Connecticut once observed in my hearing, ‘night preaching and pulpit praying are two things which I abhor.’ But other denominations practised both; and soon after my settlement in Bristol I found that many of my parishioners attended these meetings; and it was, *at first*, from fear of the result of their straying away among those who appeared to have more zeal, that I proposed to our Vestry, and with difficulty obtained their leave to open my church for a third service on Sunday evenings. I have had reason to believe that this was the most fruitful part of my ministry, because more people attended at the third service than at the other two, not a few of whom attended our service at no other time. I continued the practice of three services every Sunday for thirty years; so long indeed as I had a parish particularly under my pastoral care.”

In 1809 he was invited to the rectorship of St. Michael's Church, Litchfield, Conn. Both the situation and the terms upon which it was offered, were very favorable; he determined to accept it. He was diverted from his purpose by an occurrence, to him totally unexpected, and in his view exceed-

ingly providential. On the twenty-ninth day of May, 1810, the delegates from the churches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, met together in the city of Boston to elect a bishop for the eastern diocese. Their choice fell upon Alexander V. Griswold. Mr. Griswold was one of the delegates from Rhode Island, but no thought of his election to the office seems to have entered his mind. When the idea was suggested to him that he was to be chosen, he was thrown into the wildest agitation, and absolutely refused to entertain it. When the vote of the Convention was made known he was completely overpowered by his emotions, and after a few moments' pause rose and refused to accept the proffered honor. He appeared overwhelmed with a sense of his own unfitness. Only after the earnest solicitation of the clergy in the eastern diocese was he prevailed upon to assume the responsibilities of the position. May 29, 1811, he was consecrated bishop, in Trinity Church, New York City.

Concerning the effect which his elevation to the Episcopate produced upon Mr. Griswold, the Rev. Dr. Crocker, of St. John's Church, Providence, wrote as follows: "To all who knew him intimately, and observed him carefully, it was obvious that his providential promotion was the means of bringing home to his heart, with a power which he had never before felt, the conviction that he was an appointed instrument in the hands of God for the good of his people. His public discourses assumed a warmth, an unction, an authority, an evangelical character, that had not previously belonged to them. And it should never be forgotten that the extraordinary revival in the summer of 1812, one year after his consecration, was the fruit of his growing faithfulness."

Concerning the revival of 1812, the bishop writes thus in his autobiography:—

"In the year 1812, there was in Bristol an awakened attention to the subject of religion, which was very wonderful, and the like of which I had never before witnessed. It commenced among the members of my parish, when no such thing was looked for, nor indeed thought of. No unusual efforts had been made with any view to such an excitement. My administering of confirmation in the parish a few months previously

had not improbably some effect. My recent ordination to the Episcopate was the means of awakening my own mind to more serious thoughts of duty as a minister of Christ; and in consequence I had, no doubt, with more earnest zeal preached 'Jesus Christ and him crucified.' The change which I first noticed was the appearance of increased seriousness in the congregation: especially in leaving the church after service. There was little or no laughing, or merry salutation among the people; neither talking of worldly things. After the benediction, and a minute of private prayer, they retired silent and thoughtful. Some soon began to express a religious concern respecting their spiritual state, and were anxious to know 'what they should do to be saved.'

"In consequence of this awakened and increasing inquiry, I began to meet with them one or two evenings in the week, not only that we might unite in praying that they might be led into the way of truth, and enjoy the comforts of hope, and of peace in believing, but that I might save time to myself and them, by conversing at the same time with a number who were in the same state of mind. I soon found that the number of such inquirers had increased to about thirty; and in a very short time the awakening was general throughout the town and was very wonderful. Very much to my regret, the number of communicants had hitherto been small, — but about forty; and yet, notwithstanding the very zealous efforts of those of other denominations to draw the converts to their respective communions, a large number of adults (forty-four) were baptized, and a hundred were added to my communion of whom more than half had before been accustomed to attend worship in other places or in no place. These converts were not encouraged in ranting, or in any enthusiastic raptures; nor did they incline to any extravagance; but gladly hearkened to the words of truth and soberness; and very few of them afterwards 'turned from the holy commandment delivered unto them.'"

More than half a century has passed away since that great religious wave swept through the town. But even now the aged cheeks will glow, and the eyes that have been dimmed by the passing years will sparkle again with the brightness of youth as the memories of that wonderful time are called up. The first among the laymen to take part in the movement was a sea-captain who had just returned from a voyage to the Island of Trinidad. Before he left Bristol, the unwonted fervor of Bishop Griswold's sermons and discourses had turned his thoughts toward the attainment of the holier and higher life, whose glories the bishop was ever placing before his people. The awful solemnity of the ocean had completed the lesson. On Saturday night he returned from his voyage. The next day, when the bishop had finished his

sermon, the emotions that stirred the soul of the sailor entirely overcame the modesty that usually kept him back from the public notice. Rising from his seat, he went forward to the old wine-glass pulpit in which the preacher was yet standing, and conversed with him earnestly for a few moments, while the congregation looked on with amazement at the unusual interruption. With that benignant smile which marked his gentle nature, Bishop Griswold assented to the request that was preferred ; and placing his hand upon the shoulder of the eager enthusiast, he turned to the congregation and said : “ My friends, Captain —— wishes to tell you what the Lord has done for his soul.” Then the quiet sailor told to the congregation the story of the change that had been wrought in him ; told it without a thought of the unusual part he was assuming ; told it in the simplest words, with no attempt at eloquence or effect, but with the wondrous power of God’s love so plainly before his eyes that the minds of all his hearers went with him upon the sea, and felt the struggle which had brought his soul out of darkness into light. Never, even, had the inspired words of their pastor stirred the people of St. Michael’s Church more strongly. When he ceased there was hardly a dry eye in the congregation. Only a few well-chosen words did the bishop add to intensify the lesson, and then dismissed his people with the usual benediction. From that day the revival became general. Through the town it spread, till the mind of every one was turned to thoughts of the life that was to come. The sound of the workman’s hammer was unheard for a season, the horses stood idle in their stalls, the noise of merry laughter ceased as the crowds of serious worshippers poured onward to the churches. For days these remarkable scenes could be witnessed ; their effect could be observed for years,—can still be traced, in fact. Such a revival now would be impossible ; the busy manufacturing town of to-day would turn carelessly away from words to which the ears that were accustomed to tales of dreadful disaster upon the ocean, lent a willing attention.

The influence of the revival spread throughout the diocese. In St. John's Church, Providence, the Rev. Dr. Crocker felt its quickening effects and rejoiced in the more ready attention that was given to his more earnest words. Rev. Dr. Henshaw, the future bishop of Rhode Island, was an assistant to Bishop Griswold at the time. He never forgot the lessons then learned in Bristol.

Of the effects of this awakening upon the parish, Dr. Tyng, who became a resident of Bristol seven years later, writes as follows: "The revival of 1812 consolidated and established the parish of Bristol as one of the most flourishing and truly Christian churches in the diocese. It gave it a reputation and an influence among the Episcopal churches of New England, as distinct and marked as the Church of North Hampton, under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards. But, unlike that church, its conservative Episcopacy kept it from all dissensions, and its inwrought submission to its venerated and faithful pastor, established it in complete unity of faith and feeling among the Christian people who constituted the Church of God therein. Never, perhaps, was the conserving influence of Episcopal principles, institutions and ordinances, more remarkably and honorably displayed."

By some of his clergy, mainly those of Massachusetts, Bishop Griswold's course in this revival was criticised as being entirely at variance with the traditions and customs of the Episcopal Church. The bishop's own testimony shows the injustice of the criticism. His ready mind divined at once the proper course to pursue under the unusual circumstances, and his rare executive ability enabled him to avoid the difficulties that might have blocked the path of a less able man. In this connection the testimony of Dr. Tyng is again of value. "Of all the men in our church, Bishop Griswold was intensely an Episcopalian,—an Episcopalian born and bred. All his habits, tastes, and convictions, were on the side of his own church, and in favor of its ministries and forms, its liturgies and articles."

According to the almost invariable rule, this period of in-

tense religious excitement was followed in a few years by one of religious apathy. In this case, perhaps, the change which the bishop laments as he makes his daily entry in his diary, was more apparent to him than to those who were not familiar with the church. When Dr. Tyng commenced his life in Bristol, in 1819, he thought he had never before seen a more flourishing church. Sixty years afterwards he writes, "a more really flourishing Christian church I have never seen since." But if the minds of his congregation were somewhat diverted from religious thoughts, not in the slightest degree was it due to the remissness of their religious teacher. The cares of his large diocese weighed heavily upon him, but not on this account did he neglect the welfare of the parish to which he had become so tenderly attached. His labors in its behalf became more unremitting, and at last the change came. Dr. Tyng thus describes it: —

"In the opening of the year 1820 a new and very wonderful scene and experience was presented to me in this work of my youthful ministry. Bristol was visited with a very remarkable revival of religion, the manifest work of the spirit of God. At this time there had been but little in the previous autumn to indicate it. Our weekly meetings had not been largely attended in the immediately preceding months, partly perhaps owing to the weather, but more to the spirit of worldliness which had been spreading abroad. On the last precedent Friday evening, the regular week night, not twenty persons were present in the school-room in which the meetings were held. The aspect was very discouraging. On the succeeding Sunday evening, the Bishop, after preaching twice in the day, was taken ill in the evening service, and was unable to complete his sermon. The effect of this sudden interruption was very solemn and impressive. He was assisted slowly to his house by some of his friends. The residue of the congregation were gathered in small companies for mutual expression around the church. As I came out of the church, I stopped where one such company were assembled around a young woman as if she were sick. On approaching the place, I was called to her as one in deep spiritual distress. This proved to be the first drop of a gracious shower.

"The next morning to this Sabbath was probably occupied in every family with thought and conversation about the events which had occurred on this evening. The day revealed an extensive, almost an universal influence and interest, awakened among the people. The general conversation became directed to the one subject of religious truth and teaching. As we mingled in our common acquaintance, this change of general feeling among the people was displayed in a very remarkable manner. Suc-

ceeding days indicated the same feeling still increasing and extending. This wide-spread earnestness among the church people demanded an assembling for the special consideration of the subject, and made them unwilling to wait until the regular weekly meeting on Friday evening. We therefore appointed one for Thursday evening, in a private house* opposite the church.

"It was with unbounded surprise that I went into the house at the hour appointed. It was crowded in every room, stair-case and entry, as if some unusually crowded funeral were there. But for ministering to this people, hungry for the bread of life, I was there alone. They had placed a Bible and Prayer-book on the first landing of the stairs. The people were crowded above me and below me, as far as my eye could reach, in the most eager attention to the Word. It was the most solemn assembly I had ever seen, and its impression upon my mind and memory, was overwhelming and abiding. But this was the commencement of months of work of a similar description: and from this day we had a similar meeting appointed for every evening. These were held in various rooms and houses throughout the town. The evening meetings were usually held in the Academy Hall. My whole time for about three months was given up to this one work. Three times every day I was engaged in addressing different assemblies in different parts of the town and of the surrounding country, and in conversing with awakened and anxious persons connected with these meetings.

"Such a scene in human society as Bristol then displayed, I had never imagined. The whole town was given up to this one work. The business of the world was for a time suspended. The stores were in many instances closed, as if the whole week were a Sabbath. The general thought of the people seemed to be devoted to the one great purpose of the soul's salvation. The reality and depth of the impression were proved by the large number of persons who became truly the followers of the Lord Jesus. During the most of this period the Bishop was confined to his house by sickness. As soon as he was able to be abroad, a confirmation was appointed in the Church."

More than one hundred persons were confirmed as a result of this revival. As in the former case in 1812, the work which began in St. Michael's was quickly spread throughout the town, and the other congregations received equally large accessions. From other towns came crowds of people to gaze upon the scenes that were daily presented. From Fall River a packet brought a full load of sight-seers. The voyage was prompted only by curiosity, but when the hour came for the return of the vessel the captain waited in vain for his passengers. They, too, had yielded to the wonderful in-

* Mr. William H. Bell now lives in the house.

fluences of the hour, and had joined the throng of worshipers. The next day the most of them went back, no longer scoffers but penitents.

For nine years longer Bishop Griswold continued to reside in Bristol. Almost as soon as he had been consecrated he had been advised and besought to take up his abode in a more central location, from whence he could more easily reach all the parts of his large diocese. But the old town was exceedingly dear to him. When he removed from Harwinton to Bristol he took with him a wife and eight beautiful children. When he removed from Bristol to Salem all but one of them were dead. In the churchyard, just behind the chancel, were eight white marble tombstones. There lay the wife of his youth,* and there were sleeping three of the children who had been born to him in Bristol. It is not wonderful that he clung to the place with all the strength of his nature, and resisted for so long a time the temptations that were offered to induce him to remove from it.

In 1830 he removed to Salem and assumed the rectorship of St. Peter's Church. Five years later the pressure of circumstances forced him to resign this parish also, to devote himself entirely to his Episcopal duties. He removed to Boston and there spent the remainder of his life. On the 15th of February, 1843, the aged servant of God was called away from his labors. For some years he had felt that death would come to him suddenly, but the consciousness had brought with it no feeling of terror. When the sun was going down his duty led him to the residence of the man who had lately been chosen to assist him in the work of the diocese, Bishop Eastburn. With his usual firm tread he mounted the steps; but as he reached the top the message came. The eyes of his successor rested upon his dead form when the door was opened. No man was ever more sincerely mourned.

The amount of literary work which Bishop Griswold accomplished in addition to the labor a parish ordinarily imposes, was really marvelous. While in Bristol, as he writes

* Bishop Griswold was twice married. His second wife was Mrs. Amelia Smith, the widow of a brother of Bishop Smith, of Kentucky.

in his autobiography, he delivered several courses of lectures, one course of about eighty or ninety on the four Gospels in harmony. These lectures he was urged to publish, but declined to do so. He afterwards destroyed them, with twelve or fourteen hundred manuscript sermons besides. "I also delivered a series of discourses, thirty-three in number, on the Acts of the Apostles; about twelve on the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity; one on each of the Ten Commandments, to which I added five on our Lord's summary of the Decalogue, several on the Catechism and the Apostles' Creed, and one on each chapter of the Revelation of St. John. I also delivered a course of seventy lectures on the five books of Moses." These courses of lectures were all delivered Sunday evenings. They show how careful was his style of work and how thorough was his knowledge of the subjects concerning which he wrote. "However little the world may have been aware of it, that quiet, modest, humble bishop drew from his German ancestry so large an inspiration of the German industry, aye, and of German genius for scholarship, that, had he been even moderately able to indulge his inclinations, free as he was by Divine grace from German errors, he could not have failed of leaving behind him, as the fruit of his long life of study, some of the most precious as well as abundant contributions to the theological learning of the Church." *

He also found time to superintend the studies and direct the work of many students in what Dr. Stone calls "the best theological seminary which the eastern diocese ever had,—perhaps the best that any diocese will ever have." Alexander Jones, S. Brenton Shaw, J. H. Coit, Stephen H. Tyng, J. P. K. Henshaw, Southerland Douglass, William Horton, Norris M. Jones, James Tyng, George Griswold, Joseph Muenschner, and James Wallis Eastburn, were among his pupils. (Mr. Eastburn was a brother of the late Bishop of Massachusetts. He came to Bristol in 1816. In connection with Mr. Robert C. Sands he wrote *Yamoyden; A Tale of the Wars of King Philip*, a poem in six cantos. This work was commenced in

* Dr. Stone's *Life of Bishop Griswold*, page 186.

November, 1817, and finished during the succeeding year. A copy may be found at the Rogers Free Library. Mr. Eastburn was but twenty years of age, and Mr. Sands but eighteen, when the poem was written.)

Very soon after his coming to Bristol, Mr. Griswold entered into the intimate relations with Brown University which he maintained throughout most of his life. In 1810 he was made a Master of Arts; and in 1811, very soon after his election to the Episcopate, he received from the college the degree of Doctor of Divinity (Princeton in 1811, and Harvard in 1812, conferred the same degree upon him). Sept. 2, 1812, he was elected a member of the "Board of Fellows," and in 1815, was made the "Chancellor of the University." This office he held until his removal to Salem. In 1832 he was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown. His interest in the fortunes of the University never waned.

By a strange combination of circumstances, the remains of the first and only bishop of the eastern diocese do not lie in Bristol, among the people with whom his life was most closely connected. At his death his body was placed beneath the chancel of Trinity Church, Boston. Shortly before the fire came which reduced the church and a great part of the city to ashes, they were carried to Dedham, and there, in St. Paul's Churchyard, under the shadow of a massive monument, they now repose. In St. Michael's Church, Bristol, a mural tablet bears this inscription to his memory:—

In memory of the
RT. REV. A. V. GRISWOLD, D. D.,
Bishop of the Eastern Diocese,
and for many years Rector of this Church.
Born in Simsbury, Conn., April 22, 1766,
Died in Boston, Mass., Feb'y 15, 1843.
A noble man, a true Christian.
A faithful pastor, a Holy Bishop.
Combining singular moderation with
immovable firmness,
Great ability with beautiful modesty,
Earnest piety
with the widest charity.
After a long life of extended usefulness,
with no stain upon his memory,
he has entered into rest.
"The memory of the just is blessed."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

1811-1880.

“THE First Baptist Church in Bristol originated in the conscientious convictions of a pious physician, Dr. Thomas Nelson. He came to Bristol in the year 1801, and feeling the want of the church privileges to which he had been accustomed, he determined to remove, and with this end in view, sailed for New York. A terrific storm arose, the packet was wrecked, and all on board were lost except two, one of whom was Dr. Nelson. The impression made upon his mind was such that he felt himself another Jonah, having attempted in vain to flee from the presence of the Lord. This was at the close of 1807. He returned to Bristol, and in a few years welcomed into the town a number of the same faith as himself. In 1811 there were enough, it was thought, to constitute a church, which was accordingly formed August 22d of that year, with twenty-three members. By the close of the following year this number was more than doubled. Preaching was maintained at intervals by different ministers, then statedly by the Rev. Simeon Coombs. Rev. James M. Winchell, the first Pastor, commenced his labors in October, 1812. By an act of marked courtesy* on the part of Bishop Griswold, then Rector of St. Michael's Church, the ordination services took place in that church, the sermon being preached by President Messer, of Brown University. At this time the Baptist place of worship was in the house of Dr. Nelson, on what is now State Street, a large upper room having been finished by him for that purpose. The house is still standing next east of the present Baptist parsonage. Meanwhile arrangements were made to build the substantial stone edifice still occupied by the church, which was dedicated in November, 1814. The building is 45x65 feet, with an audience-room accommodating about five hundred; is tastefully frescoed, and furnished with a fine organ. There is a lecture-room below, with a committee-room adjoining.”—*From an Historical Sketch by the Rev. Howard M. Jones.*

These are the names of those who were recognized as the First Baptist Church in Bristol. “They are 23 in all, 7

* By a somewhat similar act of courtesy on the part of the bishop, the use of the pulpit of St. Michael's Church was granted, five years later, to Bishop Cheverus, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston.

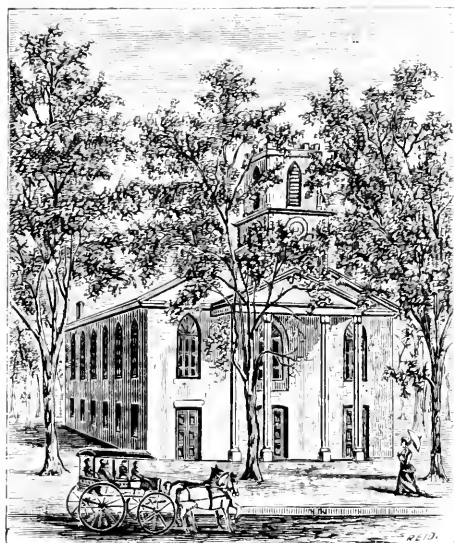
males and 16 females. Males—Thomas Nelson, Lemuel W. Briggs, Royal Thresher, Sylvanus Leonard, Daniel Anderson, Perry M. Peckham, John Briggs. Females—Eleanor West, Hopestill Munro, Hannah Martin, Elizabeth Thresher, Lydia Clark, Mary Simmons, Mehitabel Clark, Priscilla Shaw, Frances Rathburn, Phebe Lincoln, Lydia French, Sarah Walker, Hannah Shroden, Deborah Luther, Laurana Brown, Sybil Thomson.”* The first minister to administer the communion to the little flock was the Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, a brother of Dr. Nelson.

James Manning Winchell, the first pastor, deserves more than a passing notice. His stay in Bristol was short, but he was a man of fine scholarship and unusual abilities as a preacher, and the church prospered greatly under his ministrations. Mr. Winchell was a native of the town of North-east, Dutchess County, New York. He graduated at Brown University in the class of 1812, and the Bristol church was his first pastoral charge. He had been in Bristol a little more than a year when he received an invitation to become the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston. This invitation he accepted, and removed to his new field of labor very shortly after. His life was a short one; he died in Boston, of consumption, Feb. 22, 1820. Before his death he had become famous as the editor of the standard edition of Watts’ Hymns. He also published two discourses on the history of the First Baptist Church in Boston. Of him Rev. Dr. Rufus Babcock wrote as follows: “It seems to me that young Winchell’s manner in the pulpit approached more nearly to that of Summerfield—that prodigy of youthful loveliness—than any other that I ever witnessed. There was the same winning simplicity and naturalness in the one as in the other. Winchell’s thoughts were clear, but not profound; his arrangement was so natural and lucid that the attentive hearer could hardly fail to treasure much of his discourse in his memory.”

The “Stone Chapel”—so the church building was called for many years—was finished at a cost of about \$7,000. The

* Rev. Mr. Hubbard’s *Historical Discourse*.

Baptists of Bristol were too poor to bear all the expense of its erection, although the town, following the precedent it had established several years before in the case of the Methodists, had granted them a portion of the Common as a site for the edifice. The needed funds were therefore procured by means of a lottery, then the most common expedient for raising money.*



The Baptist Church.

Dr. Nelson did not live to witness the completion of the "Stone Chapel." He died in 1814, a few weeks after the departure of Mr. Winchell. His loss was felt by his fellow-Baptists to be almost irreparable. If he had been living five years later the church might possibly have escaped the withering blight which then fastened itself upon it. In the month of May, 1814, the Rev. Barnabas Bates was chosen to succeed Mr. Winchell. Mr. Bates was an Englishman (born 1785), a remarkably able man. For four years the church prospered under his wise leadership. At his suggestion, the

*The papers of that day are full of lottery advertisements, and every year several charters for lotteries were granted by the Rhode Island General Assembly. No one's moral sense was offended or shocked by them. The Congregational Church and St. Michael's Church had more than once replenished their exhausted purses in this way. The Methodist Church alone is free from the reproach that now is attached to such a course. This, however, was not due to any scruples on the part of the members of that society, but simply because the cost of its church building was small and the money was easily raised by subscription. Capt. James DeWolf, a member of St. Michael's Church, contributed nearly one-fourth of the money expended in its erection, and there were other large contributions from persons who were not Methodists.

first Sunday School in the town was established, in the year 1816. "In this enterprise, this church and the Congregationalist Church in this town, appear to have been partially united. They each established a school about the same time, and once in so many weeks the two schools met together in concert, when the teachers from each gave in their reports, and the pastors of the two churches made such remarks and suggestions as seemed to be called for. This was the same year in which the first Sabbath School in this country was opened in the city of New York." *

"But in the summer of 1818, Mr. Bates began to preach different doctrines from those held by the church, and from those which he had preached during the first four years of his ministry in Bristol. He began to express strong Unitarian sentiments, and to deny flatly and openly the divinity of Christ. He would not consent that the Article of Faith adopted by the church at its organization should be read in Church Meeting; nor that the Doxology should be sung at the close of worship. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, so dear and precious to the heart of every Evangelical Christian, was by him sneered at and ridiculed in the pulpit, and held up to view in the most odious light in which it could possibly be presented." †

The course of Mr. Bates at once divided the church into two rival factions, and very bitter quarrels ensued. The Bates party obtained possession of the church edifice, and continued to hold it for seven years, although their leader was meanwhile deposed from the ministry.‡ Mr. Bates finally gave up

* Rev. Mr. Hubbard's *Historical Discourse*.

† Ibid.

‡ The following vote, passed in Town Meeting, Aug. 31, 1824, is especially interesting in this connection. It shows what were the opinions of the great mass of the citizens upon the subject; and also defines the tenure by which the lands occupied by public and private buildings upon the Common are held:—

"*Whereas*, The Freemen of this Town in their corporate capacity, are and always have been the agents and guardians of the Lands, etc., belonging to the Corporation; and whereas they have permitted buildings to be erected on the public square belonging to the Town, for the education of children, and for public worship,

Resolved, That we do, and always have considered, any transfer of the property in said buildings or appurtenances, with intention to convert them to any other use than that originally intended and understood by the parties, at the time permission was given or granted for setting such building on said Town's Common land, a Violation of the Agreement and Right granted, and such right forfeited and annulled by the party owning, or pretending to own, such building or buildings.

Resolved, That we consider any individual pretending to purchase or to hold in his own Right, or to have any control over any such building, as a violation of the right or permission to set said building on the Town Land, and any attempt to pull down or carry away said building, or any part thereof, or anything to the same

preaching entirely, and devoted himself to secular pursuits. He was for a time the Collector of the Port of Bristol, but having become very unpopular was removed from his office. The fact that he was a zealous Free-Mason and that the Anti-Masonic feeling was very strong in the town may have had much to do with his unpopularity. He was afterwards connected for some years with the New York Post Office, and during that period devoted his fine abilities to bringing about a reduction in the postal rates of the United States. He published very many pamphlets concerning the matter of postal reform, and went about the country delivering lectures upon the subject. Through his efforts a very great reduction in the rates of postage was made. By his admirers he was styled "the Father of Cheap Postage in the United States." He died at Boston in 1853.

During the years when the Bates party held possession of the "Stone Chapel," the services of the church were held in the morning in the "Brick School House" and the "Academy Hall;" in the evening in private houses. All that time it was without a pastor, and consequently had no share, as a church, in the revival of 1820. When the chapel came again into the possession of its rightful owners, in 1825, the Rev. John Newton Brown, of Providence, became the pastor of the church. Mr. Brown remained in Bristol about a year, and removed hence to Malden, Mass. He afterwards won distinction as the editorial secretary of the Baptist Publication Society, the editor of the *Cyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, and of several denominational journals.

After Mr. Brown's departure the church had no settled pastor for about four years. In 1829-30 the labors of Rev. Arthur A. Ross brought about a "Revival" which added twenty-two to its membership. In 1831-32 Enoch E. Chase was the pastor. Fernando Bestor served for six months from August, 1833. In 1835 several Baptist families settled in the

belonging, or to convert to private use, or to any other use than that originally intended, of Teaching in Religion, or Literature, will be by us considered a Trespass and Violation of our Rights as a Town; all which Trespasses and Violations of our Rights we are determined to prevent, if in our power. Voted and Resolved that this order go into effect. Attest, ALLEN WARDWELL, Town Clerk."

town, and in March, 1836, the church again felt itself able to call a pastor. For three years from that time it enjoyed the ministrations of the Rev. Zalmon Tobey, a graduate of Brown University, in the class of 1817. Mr. Tobey's pastorate was very successful. The Rev. William L. Brown succeeded him, remaining from September, 1839, until June, 1842. Rev. Edward Freeman served one year from August, 1842. "In January, 1844, the pastoral office was committed to Rev. James N. Sykes,* who filled it with ability and success until near the close of 1847." During his residence in Bristol Mr. Sykes distinguished himself by his efficient service upon the School Committee. He was one of the men most influential in the establishment of the High School.

John F. Bigelow succeeded Mr. Sykes, remaining until 1850. Joseph M. Graves (1850-2), J. N. Hobert (1852-5), Benjamin Carto (1855-6), Nathan A. Reed (1856-8), and Horace G. Hubbard (1859-63), followed. On the 22d of August, 1861, Mr. Hubbard delivered the Fiftieth Anniversary Historical Discourse, from whence very many quotations have been made in this chapter. It was published at the request of the church. Mr. Hubbard is a native of Champion, Jefferson County, N. Y.; born August 17, 1829. His early life was spent on a farm. He graduated from the Theological Department of Madison University, New York, in 1858, and in 1874 received from that university the honorary degree of A. M. His first pastorate was Milford, Mass. From Milford he was called to Bristol. Since his departure from Bristol he has been settled at Chatham, Mass., Brentwood, East Wash-

* "This widely-known and esteemed Baptist clergyman died in his native place, Agawam, West Springfield, Mass., Sept. 27, 1880, aged 67 years. He graduated at Brown University in 1841, with Hon. S. G. Arnold, Prof. H. S. Frieze, and Merrick Lyon, LL. D., and Rev. Drs. Kendall Brooks and Franklin Wilson. His preaching, while a student, at Fruit Hill, North Providence, is still fondly remembered. His settlements in the ministry were at North Reading, Mass., Bristol, R. I., Chelsea, East Boston, and Newburyport, Mass., Plainville and Lima, Ohio, and Greenville, Conn. Gifted with a clear, logical intellect, and moved by a warm Christian love, he became distinguished as a strong doctrinal preacher. His classical and theological culture stand revealed in the writings that he gave to the press. His virtues and his labors will be recalled in all the communities he served. Doubtless from overwork of mind he finally fell asleep from cerebral disease. His name is justly held in honor. He married (1) Aug. 3, 1842, Caroline S. Anthony; and (2) May 26, 1857, Catharine P. Anthony, daughters of James Anthony, of Providence, R. I. He leaves four children."—*Providence Journal of Sept. 28, 1880.*

ington, Meriden, and South Lyndeboro', N. H. In the last town he is now living.

Edward T. Hunt, John Blain, and Joseph J. Peck, followed Mr. Hubbard, and in 1869 the Rev. Howard Malcom Jones began the longest and most successful pastorate in the history of the church. Mr. Jones was born in Burmah. His father, John Taylor Jones, D. D., was a graduate of Amherst College (1825), and the first resident Protestant missionary in the kingdom of Siam. From 1830 to 1833, Dr. Jones was stationed in Burmah. In 1833 he went to Siam. Mr. Jones graduated from Brown University, in the class of 1853, and from Newton Theological Seminary in 1857. His pastorates have been as follows: Schoolcraft, Mich., 1858-59; Racine, Wis., 1859-62; Fredonia, N. Y., 1863-69; Bristol, R. I., 1869-79. When he came to this town in September, 1869, he found the church tower destroyed by the gale that had lately swept over the town, and the members of the church divided and disheartened. The house was soon put in repair, and after a longer period, spiritual prosperity dawned. An excellent parsonage was secured, chiefly through the energy of the late Mrs. Harriet B. Norris, and Mr. Jones had the happiness of leaving the church in every way stronger and more united than it had ever been before. His present charge is Shelburne Falls, Mass.

The Rev. Henry Crocker, the present pastor, is a native of Brewster, Mass. He graduated from Brown University in 1867, and from the Newton Theological Seminary in 1870. From October, 1870, to April, 1879, he was settled in Damariscotta, Me. In December, 1879, his pastorate in Bristol began. The deacons are John Lake and George U. Arnold. Charles H. Spooner is the treasurer, John Lake is the superintendent of the Sunday School, and L. L. Andersstrom, the clerk. It numbers about 130 members. The fact that the church maintained its existence for so many years, in the face of disasters that seemed irretrievable, shows how intense was the zeal that animated the breasts of its members, and how strong and unconquerable was their faith. After years of trouble, a prosperous future seems now to be allotted to it.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE "YANKEE."

WHEN the act declaring war between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America, was passed, June 18, 1812, the port of Bristol was at the zenith of its commercial prosperity. By the enterprising merchants who were then guiding the destiny of the town, its commerce had been extended to all parts of the globe, and its vessels had been sent to plow the waters of every sea. The declaration of war seemed to it the death-knell of its commerce, and loud were its denunciations of the course pursued by the majority in Congress. Before most of the merchants of that day, only visions of disaster and ruin arose, as they gloomily pondered over the future. Not so with James DeWolf. Not one doubt concerning the final success of the American cause seems to have entered into his mind. While he read the proclamation of President Madison, his heart was bounding with joy. From the hands of the English war-vessels, whose delight it was for years to harass the commerce of America, Mr. DeWolf had suffered heavy losses. Of these losses he had kept a most accurate account, and he had longed for the day of retaliation to come. The successful cruise of his father upon the "Prince Charles of Lorraine" was ever before his eyes, and the angry Potter blood was boiling in his veins. By the act of Congress, the President of the United States was authorized to issue commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal, to private armed

vessels. The friends of Mr. DeWolf saw, through that clause, a possible way opened for retrieving their losses. It was the opportunity he had been eagerly anticipating, and he was ready to embrace it when it came. Some months before, he had found a vessel well adapted to his purposes, — a little brigantine, built at Haddam, Conn., and on the thirtieth day of June, 1812, only eleven days after the President had issued his proclamation, he sent this letter to the Secretary of War: —

"BRISTOL R I, 30th June 1812

"*The Honorable William Eustis, Secretary of War:* —

"SIR: I have purchased and now ready for sea, an armed Brig, (one of the most suitable in this country for a Privateer) of one hundred and sixty tons burthen, mounting eighteen guns, and carries one hundred and twenty men, called the *Yankee*, commanded by Oliver Wilson. Being desirous that she should be on her cruise as soon as possible, I beg you will cause a commission to be forwarded as soon as practicable to the Collector of the District, that this vessel may not be detained.

"I am very respectfully, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES DEWOLF."

On the thirteenth day of July the commission of the "Yankee" was issued. The officers named therein were Oliver Wilson, Captain; Manly Sweet, James Usher, 2d, and Thomas H. Russel, Lieutenants. Mr. DeWolf was the owner of three-fourths of the vessel, John Smith was the owner of one quarter part. These were the articles of agreement under which the vessel sailed: —

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

BETWEEN THE OWNERS, OFFICERS AND COMPANY OF THE PRIVATE
ARMED VESSEL OF WAR, YANKEE.

"1st. It is agreed by the parties that the Owners fit the Vessel for Sea and provide her with Great Guns, small arms, powder, shot and all other warlike stores, also with suitable medicines and every other thing necessary for such a Vessel and her Cruise for all of which no deduction is to be made from the shares, for which the Owners or their substitutes shall receive or draw One Half the nett proceeds of all such Prizes or prize as shall be taken, and the other half shall be the property of the Vessel's Company to be divided in proportions as mentioned in the 15th article except the Cabin-stores and furniture which belong to the Captain.

“2d. That for preserving due decorum on board said Vessel, no man is to quit or go out of her on board any other vessel, or on shore without leave first obtained of the Commanding officer on board under the penalty of such punishment or fine as shall be decreed by the Captain and Officers.

“3d. That the Cruise shall be where the Owners or major part of them shall direct.

“4th. If any person shall be found a *ring-leader* of any Mutiny or causing disturbance, or refuse to obey the Captain, or any Officer behave with Cowardice, or get drunk in time of action, he or they shall forfeit his or their shares of any dividend or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the Captain and Officers.

“5th. If any person shall steal or convert to his own use any part of a prize or prizes or be found pilfering any money or other things belonging to this Vessel, her Officers or Company, and be thereof convicted by the Officers, he shall be punished and forfeit as aforesaid.

“6th. That whoever first spies a Prize or sail, that proves worth 100 dollars per share, shall receive Fifty Dollars from the gross sum; and if orders are given for boarding, the first man on the deck of the Enemy, shall receive Half a share to be deducted from the gross sum of Prize money.

“7th. That if any one of the said Company shall in time of action lose an eye or a joint he shall receive Fifty Dollars, and if he lose a leg or an arm, he shall receive Three hundred Dollars to be deducted out of the gross sum of Prize money.

“8th. That if any of the said Company shall strike or assault any male prisoner or rudely treat any female prisoner he shall be punished or fined as the Officers shall decree.

“9th. That if any of the said Company shall die or be killed in the voyage, and any Prizes be taken before or during the action in which he is so killed his share or shares shall be paid to his legal representatives.

“10th. That whoever deserts the said Vessel, within the time herein-after mentioned, shall forfeit his Prize money to the Owners and Company of the said Vessel, his debts to any person on board being first paid out of it, provided it does not amount to more than one half the same.

“11th. That on the death of the Captain, the command to devolve on the next in command and so in rotation.

“12th. That no one of said company shall sell any more than one half of his share or right of claim thereto of any prize previous to her being taken.

“13th. That the Captain and Officers shall appoint an agent of said Vessel's company for and during the term of said Cruise.

“14th. That all and every one of said Company do agree to serve on board of the said Vessel conformable to the terms herein mentioned for the term of Four Months beginning the said term at the time of her departure from harbour of Bristol.

“15th. That the One Half of the nett proceeds of all Prizes taken by

the said Vessel which is appropriated to the Vessel's company shall be divided among them in the following manner (viz) To the Captain sixteen Shares and all such privileges and freedoms as are allowed to the Captains of Private armed vessels of war from this Port.

"To the first Lieutenant nine shares. To the 2nd & 3^d Lieutenants and Surgeon, Eight Shares each. Prize masters and Masters Mate and Captain of Marines six shares each; Carpenter, Boatswain, and Gunner four shares each. Boatswain's Mates two and one half shares each. The residue to be divided among the Company in equal shares excepting Landsmen or raw hands who draw one and one-half shares each, and Boys who draw one share each. Ten shares to be reserved to the order of the Captain to be distributed by him to such as he may deem deserving among the Vessels Company."

To give a detailed account of the wonderful career of the "Yankee," and the daring exploits of her officers and crew, would require many more chapters than the limit assigned to the number of pages in this book will allow. Only a few of the most prominent points in her history can be mentioned. The author, however, deems the subject so important, that from the abundant material now at his command he proposes sometime to publish a full account of the career of the "Yankee," and of the other privateers that sailed out from this port during the last war with Great Britain. In that work will be given an extended account of the events that can only be touched upon here.

Before she had been a fortnight at sea the "Yankee" had tapped the vein that was for three years to inundate Bristol with its golden stream. In her first cruise of less than three months she captured ten prizes, took or destroyed nearly half a million dollars' worth of property, and paid for herself over and over again. Not always without resistance were the prizes taken, as this account of her fight with the "Royal Bounty" (from Coggeshall's *American Privateers*) shows:—

"On the first of August, 1812, the Yankee was cruising off the coast of Nova Scotia. At noon she saw a large ship on the lee bow, four miles distant; made all sail and prepared for action. The Privateer, being to windward, ran down on Royal Bounty's weather quarter and gave her the first division; soon, as she doubled on the enemy, the whole broadside. The ship returned the compliment, and the action continued with spirit on both sides. The two vessels being near, the Yankee's marines kept up a continual fire, very destructive to the Royal Bounty. The

Yankee's shot cut her sails and rigging to pieces and killed her helmsman. A few moments after, the ship became unmanageable. The Yankee then ran off a short distance and luffed to, athwart the bows of the Royal Bounty, gave a raking broadside, and at the same time poured in a constant shower of musketry which soon compelled the enemy to strike her colors. The ship proved to be the Royal Bounty, Captain Henry Gambles. She was a fine ship of 658 tons, mounting 10 guns, carrying 25 men, from Hull in ballast, seven weeks out for Prince Edward's Island. The Privateer took out the prisoners and manned the prize for the United States. The Yankee had three wounded and her sails and rigging somewhat damaged. The Royal Bounty had two men killed, the Captain and six officers and seamen wounded. The action lasted one hour. The ship was terribly cut up in sails and rigging and all its boats were stove. More than one hundred and fifty shots passed through the sails or lodged in the hull and spars. The wounded prisoners were carefully attended by the Yankee's surgeon."

If ever a vessel was "lucky," this little hermaphrodite brig was that vessel. One of her first prizes was the ship "Francis." Her cargo alone could be confiscated, but it netted over \$200,000 to her startled captors. Every share in that first cruise brought more than seven hundred dollars to its owner. No wonder that the sailors who thronged the streets of Bristol fought for a place upon her decks, and that the middle of October saw her sailing away on a second cruise. Oliver Wilson again commanded the vessel. The lieutenants were Seth Barton, John H. Vinson, and Thomas Jones. Captain Wilson's instructions were, to scour the west coast of Africa, and come home in the track of vessels sailing to Europe from Brazil and the West Indies. After a cruise of one hundred and fifty days the "Yankee" came leisurely into the harbor; but not alone. On one side was a fine brig of about 210 tons,—the "Shannon."* She was laden with cotton, and with her cargo sold for \$67,521. The letter-of-marque schooner "Alder" sailed on the other side. She was a copper-bottomed vessel of great speed, and had been a

* When the cargo of the "Shannon" was sold, Captain DeWolf found that his losses, received at the hands of British cruisers, had been entirely made up from the sales of the prizes captured by the "Yankee." Accordingly, when the "Shannon" was again ready for sea, he rechristened the vessel, and gave it the name of the "Balance." The next vessel sent in was renamed the "Prize," and the next, the "Remittance."

French privateer before she was captured by the English. Neither vessel nor cargo were very valuable. She had been sent in by Captain Wilson for possible use as a privateer. Six other prizes had also been taken. Two of them had been destroyed. One only had been recaptured. This was the "Fly," of London, a new and handsome brig. She was cut out from under the guns of a fort that mounted fifty pieces of artillery, by the "Yankee's" boat. But though this prize was recaptured by the British, the 800 ounces of gold that had been found in its cabin came home in the Bristol privateer. The value of each share in the second cruise was \$538.40.

The space of two months sufficed to make the necessary repairs, and on the 10th of May, 1813, the vessel was again commissioned. May 20th she sailed from Newport. Elisha Snow was her commander; Thomas Jones, Samuel Barton, and George A. Bruce, were his lieutenants. In company with the "Yankee," sailed for a time the "Blockade," a privateer, owned also by James DeWolf and John Smith. Manly Sweet, the first lieutenant of the "Yankee" in her first cruise, commanded the second vessel. Aug. 20, 1813, Captain Snow had captured the number of prizes sufficient to "make up a handsome cruise, calculating one-half the prizes to be retaken," and was back again in Bristol. The snow, "Thames," a vessel of 312 tons, carrying 2,087 bales of cotton, and valued with her cargo at \$110,000, was the most important result of the cruise. Amount of prize-money apportioned to each share, \$173.54.

Thomas Jones was the fourth captain. His lieutenants were Thomas Milton, George Eddy, and Sampson Gullifer. "One hundred and nine souls (some small)" composed the crew, as Golden Dearth, the clerk, attested. Sept. 10, 1813, the voyage began. The "track of the homeward-bound vessels near the Grand Banks," was the principal cruising ground specified in the sailing orders. The prizes were directed to "make for Nantucket Shoals, and get into the first port on the Vineyard (*i. e.*, the Vineyard Sound), avoiding Boston." The fourth cruise was a failure. Only two small

vessels—the schooner “Katie” and the brig “Marquis of Huntley”—were sent into port. The former paid \$12.59 to each share; the latter, \$4.70.

The next cruise saw Elisha Snow again in charge of the brigantine. Thomas Jones was “Second Captain,” Samuel Barton, John Smith, and Francis Elliot were lieutenants. Four prizes were taken. Three of them were small vessels that brought no money to their captors. The “Yankee” was driven into New Bedford by an English man-of-war. Her capture seemed inevitable, and her crew deserted almost to a man. But:—one of the prizes reached Portland in safety, and that prize was the “San Jose Indiano.” The gross receipts from the sale of that vessel and cargo amounted to more than half a million dollars. The owners received \$223,313.10 as their share of the net profits of the fifth cruise. Not one of the boys in the crew of the privateer received less than \$700 from the voyage; the negro waiters in the cabin—Cuffee Cockroach and Jack Jibsheet were their names—received, the one \$1,121.88, the other \$738.19: to Captain Snow was paid \$15,789.69.

On the first day of October, 1814, were issued the sailing orders for the sixth and last cruise. A new set of officers walked the decks of the privateer. They were William C. Jenckes, Commander; Benjamin K. Churchill, Second in Command; A. B. Hetherington, Henry Wardwell, and Samuel Grafton, Lieutenants. In the private instructions issued to Captain Jenckes special attention was paid to the definition of “neutral” property. Two years before, the people of Great Britain had sneered at the American Navy as something entirely unworthy of notice. Bitter experience had shown them their error. In many engagements the warships of the United States had fought with English men-of-war and compelled them to strike their colors; the little American privateers that swarmed about the path of British commerce had forced the merchants of England to conceal their property under neutral flags. The “Yankee’s” captain was advised to send in a “neutral” if he fired upon him

("as was once the case with the 'Yankee'"), or if he had destroyed any papers. He was instructed, that "if any one of a House shipping property resides in England, or in an English colony, that share of the shipment is good prize of war. Notwithstanding he may have been born a neutral, and lived in a neutral country all his life; if he is now domiciled in the enemy's country, it is sufficient to condemn his property." In the sentence: "You must depend principally upon the goods you take on board to make your cruise, as the prizes you may win will be very uncertain," one sees the pith of the letter of instruction. The prizes made during the cruise of 105 days are named in a letter from B. K. Churchill, the second captain, dated Beaufort, N. C., Jan. 21, 1815. "We have captured five prizes, viz.: the brig 'Lady Provost,' brig 'Courtney,' ship 'St. Andrews,' ship 'General Wellesley,' and a schooner from Bermuda with flour. We also took a brig with jerked beef, which we gave up to the prisoners. I am sorry to say that we have no goods on board except \$1,000 in cash and a small case of jewelry. The 'Yankee' is very much in want of repairs." Captain Churchill's letter concludes as follows:—

"P. S. I have lost one of my legs this cruise."

Of these last prizes only the "Courtney" brought much money to the owners and crew of the privateer. She was carried safely into New Bedford, and sold with her cargo for about seventy thousand dollars. The "General Wellesley" was an East India ship of 600 tons. She was built, in the strongest manner possible, of teak wood, carried sixteen guns, and was manned by a crew of eighty-six. She was bound from London to Calcutta, had separated from her convoy, and was taken by the "Yankee" after a running fight. Her estimated value was \$200,000. James M. Blinn was placed on board as prize-master, with orders to take her into Charleston, S. C. The sixty-two Lascars who formed a part of her original crew were left on board the prize. The "Wellesley" grounded on Charleston bar when she had almost reached her destination, a strong gale came up very shortly

afterwards, and she became a complete wreck. Two of the prize crew and fifty-two Lascars were lost with her. Thus fickle fortune, who had befriended the "Yankee" during all the years of the war, frowned upon her as the close of the contest came. Feb. 17, 1815, the Treaty of Ghent was ratified at Washington, and the mission of the privateers was ended. May 2, 1815, the little brigantine was once more lying at anchor in the harbor of Bristol. The implements of war were upon her decks, but the ten men who had shipped at Beaufort as her crew were "governed by the Rules and Regulations of the merchant service." Less than three years had passed away from the time when she had received her commission as a private armed vessel of war. In those three years she had taken more prizes than any other American privateer ever captured, she had destroyed British property amounting in value to almost a million of pounds, and she had sent into Bristol a round million of dollars as the *profit* from her six cruises.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE OTHER PRIVATEERS.

WHEN we examine the history of the other privateers which sailed from Bristol, the wonderful fortune of the "Yankee" is very plainly evident. They were six in number : the "Hiram," the "Blockade," the "Macdonough," the "Water Witch," the "Yankee Lass," and the "Rambler." To this list the "Brutus," the "Saranac," and the "Curlew" should possibly be added ; though the papers concerning them cannot now be found. Only one of these vessels, the "Water Witch," sent any prizes into port. The "Water Witch" was a little schooner employed in freighting goods between Bristol and New York. Like all the vessels then employed in running the blockade which the British cruisers had established, she was a very fine sailer. On this account her owners (James DeWolf and John Smith) procured for her a privateer's license, that she might capture the small coasters engaged in furnishing the English fleet with supplies. Her one prize, a flour-laden schooner called the "Cynthia," netted a profit of about \$5,000. Of this amount, four-fifths was placed to the credit of the owners. The remainder was divided among the sixty shares held by the officers and crew.

A short and tragic career was that of the "Hiram." The presence of the ship "Francis" in the harbor stimulated many of the Bristol merchants to embark in the business of privateering, and the "Hiram" was the second private armed vessel sent out from the port. She was of sixty tons

burden, had been built for service as a pilot-boat in the Vineyard Sound, was staunch and strong, and sailed remarkably well. She was owned by a stock company, of which Nathan Bardin held the controlling interest. Most of her officers also held shares in the stock. Mr. Bardin was the agent. James Wilson, an Englishman who had married and settled in Bristol, was her captain; among her officers were Nathan Gardner, William West, and Henry B. Bliven, all of Bristol. Her crew numbered fifty. Twenty days from the date of her purchase the "Hiram" was ready for sea. She sailed Aug. 3, 1812, intending to make a cruise of four months. For two months nothing whatever was heard from her, but on the 10th of October this letter appeared in the *Columbian Phoenix*, a paper published at Providence.

[From the *Columbian Phoenix* or the *Providence Patriot*, Oct. 10, 1812.]

"LOSS OF THE HIRAM OF 60 TONS, 3 GUNS AND FIFTY MEN."

[Extract of a Letter from Mr. John B. Dirker, to the Editor of the *New London Gazette*, dated at St. Barts, Sept. 12, 1812.]

"I received the following account of the loss of the Privateer Schooner Hiram of Bristol R. I. James Wilson, Commander, from the Carpenter.

"On the 19th of August 1812, at 2 P. M. Lat. 19 n., being at the foretop, heard a pistol go off; soon after she blew up, carrying everything on the quarter deck, together with the cabin furniture into the air; I then came down and assisted in clearing away the boat, in order to save some of our lives, as the schooner was sinking. After we got the boat out, she was upset several times—so many getting into her. The boatswain however persuaded them to quit the boat, by telling them that he would make a raft, which he attempted but found it impossible. At length we got our boat ready, and six of us got into her, viz: Samuel Collman, carpenter, Robert Robinson, boatswain, Samuel Brown, seaman, Charles Prince, seaman, (the two latter were colored), and Harry, a mulatto boy, who was so much burned and wounded, that he died in about two hours after leaving the wreck. We cut two pieces out of his thighs, (which we dried in the sun and committed the body to the waves) on which we subsisted, without any fresh water, for four days and a half.

"Before we left the unfortunate spot, we looked for an officer to assist us to navigate our boat, but not finding any we put up a prayer to God to carry us to some of the Islands; after this we rowed to the south all night, and made a small sail out of a case of a mattress, and run down before the wind, and on the 24th of August we saw the land; we then pulled to the windward, until daylight, and finding it not safe

to land on that part of the Island, we rowed round to leeward. At 2 p. m. we landed on Barbuda, being all able to walk except Brown; him the inhabitants carried with us to the Governor, John James, Esq., who treated us in the most humane and tender manner, giving us every assistance in his power. After remaining there four days, we were sent to Antigua, where the American Consul treated us very ill, and the boatswain and myself begged a passage on a schooner bound to St. Barts, where we arrived on the 6th of September and received all the assistance we needed from the benevolent Captain William R. Noyes, whose kindness we shall never forget."

Beyond the facts contained in this letter, nothing was ever learned concerning the fate of the "Hiram." A few days before the privateer sailed, the ship "Rebecca," Henry Nimmo, Master, arrived in Warren, from one of the southern ports. "Among her crew were five rough-looking Englishmen, who shipped to come North, with the avowed intention of joining the privateer service, and preying upon the property and lives of their own countrymen. Learning that the 'Hiram' was about ready for sea, they shipped on board, thus completing her complement." Popular conjecture for a long time associated the presence of these seamen on board with the destruction of the vessel.

The "Rambler" was a brig of 200 tons; Captain Appleby was her commander. She was a "Guineaman," and her privateer's license was taken out as a possible aid to her voyage, but was not the main cause of it. A writer in the *Newport Mercury* has summed up her career as follows: "She took a number of vessels, among them the ship 'Union,' from Jamaica, with coffee: which prize was retaken by the 'Curlew,' and was subsequently lost. The 'Rambler' also drove a twenty-gun ship ashore on the coast of Africa. She was subsequently chased by an English frigate, and having lost her main-top-gallant-mast, was overtaken and captured, — a thing which would not have occurred but for the above accident, for she was a superior sailer."

The schooner "Blockade" and the brig "Macdonough" belonged to the owners of the "Yankee." The former sailed from Bristol on a four months' cruise Nov. 19, 1812. For a while she sailed in company with the "Yankee," but seems to

have derived no profit from the arrangement. She made some dozen or more captures, but all of her prizes were retaken, and she brought only a bill of expenses back when she came again into the harbor. Her log-book, still preserved, presents a faithful picture of a privateersman's life. Judged by the standard of to-day, it does not seem to have been a very enjoyable one. The officers who signed the paper conferring a power of attorney upon the owners, were Manly Sweet, Captain; and Benjamin Bowen, Paul Florence, John French, Jr., Stephen Simmons, Moses Deane, John Carpenter, George Phillips, and Obed B. Hussey. The "Blockade" was lost at sea during her second cruise; only three of those who sailed forth in her ever came back.

The "Macdonough" was the largest, fastest, and best of the Bristol privateers. In one thing only was she inferior to the "Yankee," but that was in a very essential point, — *success*. She was built in Warren during the last year of the war, by Capt. Caleb Carr. Her model was so admirable that it secured for her builder an order for a war-vessel from the United States Government. Her sailing powers were marvelous. She was employed as a merchant vessel after the war, and once made the voyage from Havana to Bristol in six days, though for one whole day she was lying becalmed. Oliver Wilson was her captain. She made one cruise only, and effected very many captures, but she had entered the contest too late. All of her prizes were retaken, and she came back empty-handed. This is the story told in her "log-book" of one of her encounters.

Jan. 31, 1815. At 12 M. discovered a large ship under our lee, making signals, about two leagues distant, showing two tiers of ports. At 1 P. M. edged down for her, and discovered her lower battery to be false; immediately prepared for action. At 2 o'clock bore up for his weather quarter and hoisted our colors, the enemy at the same time hauling up his courses and lying by for us. At half past two commenced action within musket shot, observing the enemy to fire seven guns from his broadside, besides swivels, with a tremendous shower of musketry; which led us to suppose her to be a troop ship, in which we were not mistaken. At half past three passed close under her bows to rake her, when we discovered her decks full of soldiers, who gave us a tremen-

dous volley. At three-quarters past 3, our braces, bowlines, and *haulyards* being all shot away, our sails literally cut to pieces, rigging much damaged, and two guns dismounted—eleven men wounded, seven severely, seven shot in our hull, our fore and mainmasts badly wounded, our stern boat had two 18-pound shot through her, the enemy being far superior to us in point of metal, having eighteen 9 pounders and at least 300 soldiers besides her crew,—thought prudent to haul off. Our enemy, having suffered considerably to appearance, bore away for Teneriffe with some of her people slung over her side, stopping shot holes. At 3 A. M. tacked ship to south west, all hands being employed in repairing sails, rigging, gun carriages, and other damages.”

The “Macdonough” arrived at Savannah March 7, 1815. She was at last sold in Cuba, to parties who fitted her out as a slaver. Being chased one day by a man-of-war when she had a cargo of slaves on board, she ran for shelter into the harbor of Matanzas, struck upon a reef, and very soon went to pieces. Her crew were saved, but her human freight was lost.

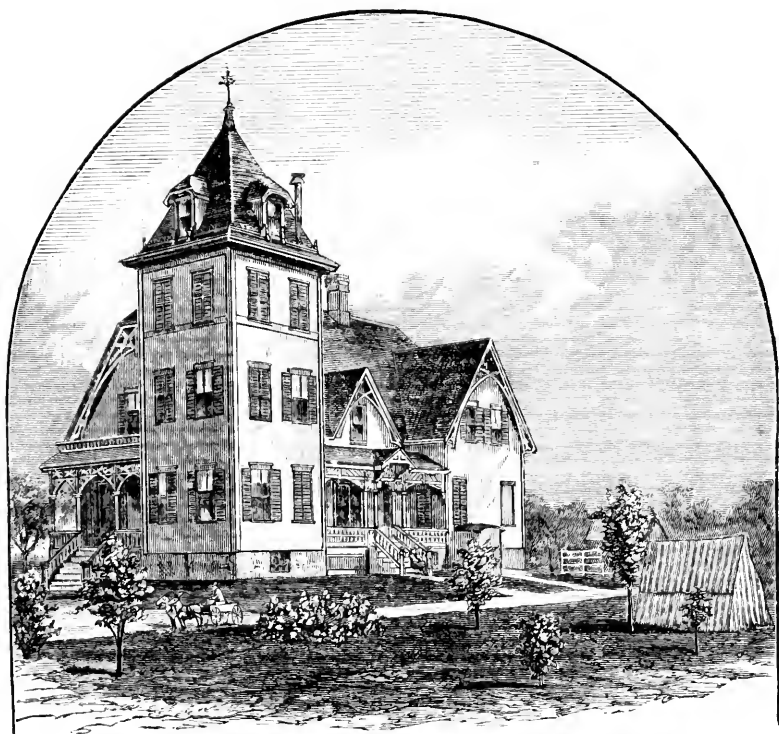
The “Yankee Lass” made but one cruise, sailing in the early part of April, 1814. A gallant officer commanded her, Capt. Benjamin K. Churchill; her first lieutenant was Seth Barton; one of the bravest men that ever sailed from the port, but she was not successful. She was a small vessel, and carried about eighty men. On her return from her first and last cruise, her commander was transferred to the deck of the “Yankee,” as second captain.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE SEPTEMBER GALES OF 1815 AND 1869.

WHEN the sun went down, on the 22d of September, 1815, the wharves of Bristol were once more lined with merchant vessels, as they had been three years before, in the days which preceded the reign of the war-ships. The crowds of sailors, that for months had lounged listlessly about, had again found employment. Energy and activity seemed to pervade the air. For nearly a week a light wind from the northeast had been blowing, and several vessels were almost ready to avail themselves of its aid. One, the brig "Richard," was lying at her wharf with her crew on board, prepared to sail on the morrow. At about 2 o'clock on the morning of Sept. 23d, the wind began to increase, and was shortly blowing very heavily. When the dusk was changed to daylight, and the ebb tide was just turning to flood, the strong air current from the northeast was met by another, equally strong, from the southwest. The two combined to produce a tremendous gale, and the exultant tempest, driving the great waves before it, came roaring up the bay, and burst with irresistible force upon the town.

Almost instantly the work of destruction began. The post office was then kept in a building which stood, partly over the water and partly upon the land, near the head of the Rubber Works wharf. Fierce Tritons in terrible sport lifted the building from the piles that supported its western side and dashed it instantly to pieces. Those who happened to



Residence of Mr. William T. C. Wardwell.

be in the building barely escaped with their lives. Mr. David A. Leonard, the postmaster, lost all his books and papers, and \$600 in money besides. Upon the Long wharf Mr. Jacob Babbitt had built a row of brick warehouses. They were almost filled with merchandise when the storm began. From the centre to the west end they were entirely overthrown; more than \$40,000 worth of sugar was destroyed, and the greater part of the goods they contained was scattered along the shores of the harbor, when the gale subsided. In a building which stood at the head of Wardwell's wharf, lay the corpse of a woman who had died during the night. For her dead body her husband and friends engaged in dreadful contest with the demons of the tempest. Out of the house

and across the street they bore her, while the surging waves were dashing waist deep about them. The sea, disappointed in its prey, broke through the walls of the house, then turned in its rage and swallowed up the lower part of Thames Street for the length of more than two squares. The air was filled with great timbers which the wind had caught up and sent whirling about like feathers, and kite-like flew the boards before the gusts. The crash of falling trees was heard on every side.

Those who looked upon the harbor saw great sheets of water lifted from the crests of the billows, and the sail-boats and small coasters hurled northward with such velocity that the eye could hardly follow them. Nor were the larger vessels safe. Very quickly, Captain Swan, of the "Richard," saw that his only safety lay in yielding to the power of the storm. He stationed his crew at their posts, raised the jib a little to give his vessel steerage way, placed his most careful hand at the wheel, and with the speed of thought went flying toward the head of the harbor. Then, as now, a causeway separated the mill-pond from the outer water, but right over the feeble barrier the "Richard" went, carrying away a part of the old wind-mill in her course, and was soon sent far up upon the meadow at the head of the pond. Not a man was hurt on board of her; the brig itself was but slightly injured, yet it cost more than her value to launch her again in the deep waters of the bay. The beautiful "Macdonough" had doffed the garb of war, and was lying at anchor in the harbor, until a cargo for the West Indies should be secured for her. She was forced from her moorings, and driven ashore upon Poppasquash, not far from the house of the late Robert Rogers. Her evil genius saved her from injury in the harbor of Bristol, for a slaver's ignominious end upon a Cuban reef.

The brig "Juno," a vessel of 160 tons, snapped her detaining cables, and started upon a career of destruction. Across James DeWolf's wharf she was driven, knocking to pieces one of its buildings on her way, and setting the little brig "Toad Fish" adrift; then over the wharf next north, and against

a fine brig that was waiting for a cargo from Wardwell's distillery, at what is now the wharf of the Namquit Mill. The victim was fresh from the ways, her keel had never leaped upon the waters of the ocean : unprepared for such rough usage, she sank without a struggle where the "Juno" had struck her. Near her the "Juno's" own course was stayed, while her cargo was tossed about from billow to billow.* Upon that same wharf the little "Toad Fish" and a good-sized sloop were left by the retiring waves a few hours afterward. Two and three hundred feet upward into many of the cross streets, more than one vessel was forced, sometimes with cargo on board, and one large sloop, the "Elamsville," a North River packet, was driven into the orchard of Samuel W. Church. More than twenty vessels were in the harbor, and only one rode out the gale.

Five men started to go to the relief of a vessel breaking to pieces upon Poppasquash. The heart of one failed him before he had accomplished half his journey, and he sought safety in a house which stood upon Shipyard Point. His companions, William Harding, Jr., John Reed, and Josiah Reed, his brother, and Henry Bosworth, went onward to die. To the stout bars of a gateway, through which the sea was surging, they clung for a time, with the strength despair gives to drowning fingers, but, one by one, the waves beat them off, and threw their corpses far up upon the meadows.

At noon the violence of the wind began to subside ; at 2 o'clock, in the afternoon, the storm was over ; at sunset hardly a breath of wind ruffled the waters, so quickly did Nature repent her of her terrible wrath. That night the sloop "Cosmopolite" came in from the West Indies ; she had had a prosperous voyage, and no gale had hindered her course.

The next day was Sunday. Quietly and peacefully it dawned, but the Sabbath stillness chilled the hearts of the

* The next day the owner of the "Juno's" cargo went along the shores of the harbor with a paint-brush, carefully marking all of the wreckage that was, presumably, his. Some wags, who had observed him at his work, followed in his path not long afterward, and placed a very conspicuous JUNO upon the dead body of a horse that was lying upon the beach.

people. A dreadful awe fell upon them when the bells began to toll, and the bodies of the drowned men were borne to the Congregational Meeting House in Bradford Street, for their funeral rites. Never did words from that pulpit fall upon more attentive ears. With the terrible proofs of God's might before their eyes, the warnings from a minister of God could not be disregarded.

Not for many months and years were the marks of the gale obliterated. The papers of that day place the value of the goods destroyed at \$150,000. It must surely have reached \$100,000, — a very much larger sum then, than it is now, be it remembered. All the shores were covered with fragments of the wrecks; all the streets were blocked by the trunks of the fallen trees. But the energy of the people quickly raised the town out from the midst of destruction; its commerce was checked for a short time only; its wharves were soon repaired; another year saw them again loaded with merchandise; the lost vessels were speedily replaced.

A little more than half a century afterward, on the 18th of September, 1869, came that other gale of which the recollections are yet so fresh. Of the first no extended account was ever written; of the second, the careful attention of the editor of the Bristol *Phoenix* has preserved a very accurate record. From the account printed in the *Phoenix*, the information given in this chapter is mainly derived. Very differently sound the stories of the destruction wrought at the different times. The little sea-port of 1815, with its less than three thousand inhabitants, had grown into a thriving manufacturing town of almost twice that number. The damage to the shipping interests, which made up so large a part of the losses of 1815, figures but little in the accounts of 1869. The first gale was far more severe than the second and the losses were proportionally much greater.

The second gale began on the afternoon of Wednesday. The morning was pleasant, with a strong breeze from the southeast. The wind continued to increase in violence until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when it culminated in a

complete hurricane, lasting about two hours, and sweeping everything before it. As in the first gale, almost every sail-boat in the harbor was either driven ashore, dashed in pieces, or sunk. Of the half-dozen or more vessels in the harbor, none were seriously damaged; some of them were driven ashore, but most of them were launched again without very great expense. The damage to property was about the same as in 1815. One hundred and sixty-seven shade-trees were blown down. No lives were lost, and but few persons were injured. At the National Rubber Company's works, both of the large chimneys were blown down, and the walls of several brick buildings very badly injured. A part of the roof of the Sugar Refinery was blown off, and the building considerably damaged. The lower cotton mill also lost a portion of its roof, and was otherwise injured. The basement machinery of both mills was damaged by water. The steam saw and planing mill of the late Capt. Joseph L. Gardner, which has since been destroyed by fire, was unroofed and partly blown down. The Roman Catholic Church was started from its foundation, but otherwise suffered no harm; the steeple of the Baptist Church was blown down, and the Memorial Chapel of the Congregational Church was partly unroofed. Several frame houses were entirely demolished; these were newly-built dwellings, of a style very unlike those that withstood the gale of 1815. The track of the railroad across the Bridge flats was almost entirely washed away, and between Bristol and Providence hardly a bridge was left in its place. All the wharves of the town were more or less damaged, but the tide did not rise as high as during the first gale.

CHAPTER XL.

JAMES DEWOLF.

THE career of James DeWolf furnishes one of the best examples of the infinite possibilities for individual advancement which our republican system of government affords. None of the advantages of wealth or station were his in his youth, yet his brilliant abilities made him a Senator of the United States, and secured for him one of the largest fortunes of which the country could boast. The story of his life, if told in detail, would read like one of the wildest chapters of a romance.

Mark Anthony DeWolf, the father, was an humble sailor, whom the sudden fancy of Simeon Potter rescued from a life of obscurity upon the island of Guadaloupe, that his children might rise to wealth and influence in America. Mr. DeWolf married a sister of Captain Potter, became the master of one of his brother-in-law's vessels, settled in Bristol long before the Revolution, and there ended his life. More than a very modest income he never possessed in his most prosperous days, and as the size of his family increased, his ability to support it proportionally diminished. His children enjoyed only the limited opportunities for education presented by the village schools of a century ago, and poverty compelled his sons to take up their father's calling before their school-days were half completed. But all who reached mature age became merchant captains; nearly all of them attained the possession of large wealth, and made themselves men of mark in the town and State.

James DeWolf was born in Bristol, March 18, 1764. Dur-

ing the Revolutionary War, when he was only a lad, he left his home and shipped as a sailor boy upon a private armed vessel. Twice in his boyhood he was exposed to the dangers of naval battle, and twice he was captured by the enemy. For many weeks he was detained a prisoner upon the Bermuda Islands. His zeal and activity quickly brought him into notice; his manifest ability won for him speedy promotion. When the war was ended he entered the employ of John Brown, of Providence, and was made the master of a vessel ere he had passed out of his teens. His earliest voyages as captain were made to the coast of Africa in the slave trade. This now abhorred traffic was then esteemed perfectly reputable and legitimate; the most enlightened nations did not hesitate to engage in it; its morality and propriety were questioned by no one.

Every business in which Captain DeWolf engaged brought wealth into his coffers; the wonderful gift of grateful Bacchus seemed to have been bestowed upon him; Midas-like he changed everything into gold by his magic touch. Before he was twenty-five years old he had amassed a fortune and might have retired from business, but a life of idleness had for him no charms. His active brain was continually devising new enterprises, and he was ever ready to stake all that he possessed, to compass the attainment of more brilliant hopes. Thus, while his fellow-merchants were cautiously weighing the possible chances of success in ventures in untried fields, he was accustomed to rush boldly in, sweep away the rich prizes that so often await a pioneer, and leave for those who followed him only the moderate gains that ordinary business affords.

No one seconded more heartily the measures which brought about the war of 1812, than Mr. DeWolf. How extensive were his investments in privateers the reader has already learned. But not for personal reasons only did he rejoice at the commencement of hostilities. He was convinced that the interests of the whole country demanded it, and he believed most thoroughly in the justice of the American cause. All his sympathies were enlisted in it; all that he possessed he

confidently staked upon the final issue of the conflict. Not only did he cause the banks in which he owned a controlling interest to invest their available capital in United States bonds, but when the credit of the Nation was lowest, and it found much difficulty in raising money, he advanced the needed funds from his own fortune. The remarkable speed of the privateer "Macdonough" having directed public attention to her builder, a sloop of war, the "Chippewa," was ordered to be constructed in his ship-yard. Accordingly, Commodore O. H. Perry, as agent for the United States Government, contracted with Capt. Caleb Carr, of Warren, to build the ship within ninety days. "On March 15, 1814, only fifty-seven days from the time her keel was laid, although there had been many stormy and snowy days, this ship of 411 tons burthen, and carrying sixteen guns, was delivered to the Commodore, ready for her rigging and armament; and in a few days afterwards she went to sea, completely armed and rigged."* The money for the construction and equipment of this vessel was advanced by Mr. DeWolf from his own private purse.

When to most observers the shipping business was still the most important in the United States, he had foreseen the great strides the country would soon take in population, wealth and refinement, and the immense preponderance which manufactures were destined to attain. So, in the year 1812 he built, in the town of Coventry, a cotton factory, the Arkwright Mills. These he continued to own and direct as long as he lived.

Like many retired sea-captains, Mr. DeWolf took great interest in agriculture. In Bristol and its neighborhood he owned nearly a thousand acres of land. Upon a beautiful site, not far from Mount Hope, he had built the stately mansion in which the widow of his son, William Bradford, now lives, and from thence in the early morning he strode forth to superintend the cultivation of his fertile acres. How he found time to attend to his immense business, was a mystery even to those who knew him best. In farming, as in everything else,

* Fessenden's *History of Warren*.

he seemed to have the smallest details of his various transactions always at his command.

Political honors frequently fell to his lot. Almost thirty years he represented his native town in the State Legislature, and for two years he was the speaker of the lower house. In 1821 he laid aside the speaker's gavel to take his place as a Senator of Rhode Island, in the National Congress. In the United States Senate his unequalled business experience made him the recognized authority in all matters purely commercial, and secured for him when he spoke, an attention that was accorded to no other man. He was a strong "Protectionist," and was the first to propose the "drawback" system for articles manufactured in this country from material brought from foreign lands — which has since been so extensively adopted. But the slow progress of congressional legislation was distasteful to his active brain, his own ever-increasing business demanded more and more of his time, and he resigned his seat before his term had expired. Until his death he continued to represent Bristol in the Rhode Island Legislature.

In person Mr. DeWolf was tall and commanding. Always carefully and richly attired, he attracted unusual attention in an age when much more care was bestowed upon personal adornment than is now given.

As a citizen, Mr. DeWolf filled a position in Bristol no man had ever occupied before,—one which no other man will probably again hold. The prosperity of his birthplace was always most dear to him; its welfare he always regarded as identical with his own, and many were the schemes for its advancement which he devised. When he died there was no one to take his place, and the news of his death seemed for a while to crush the life out of the town. With its every industry he had been more or less intimately connected; hardly a project had been set on foot where his aid had not been invoked; never a subscription for a worthy object had been started which his name had not generously led. He died at the residence of one of his daughters, in New York City, on the twenty-first day of December, 1837.

CHAPTER XLI.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

1830-1880.

ON the departure of Bishop Griswold, the Rev. John Bristed, who for eighteen months had been assisting him in his parish work, was chosen to succeed him as the rector of St. Michael's Church. Mr. Bristed had lately been ordained to the ministry by Bishop Griswold, but he was a man more than fifty years old, who had already gained for himself reputation and wealth in another profession. He brought to his work in Bristol a wider experience, a more varied and extensive learning, and a more highly cultivated mind than any of his predecessors.

He was born in Dorsetshire, Eng., Oct. 17, 1778, in a parish of which his ancestors for many successive generations had been rectors. In the famous Winchester School he obtained a very thorough, classical education, and after completing the usual preparatory course, entered the medical college in Edinburgh, of which the celebrated Doctor Abernethy was the head. From the college, at the end of three years, he obtained a diploma, but it would appear that he had taken up the study of medicine as a means of mental discipline, and not with any intention of practicing as a physician. For almost immediately after leaving Edinburgh he commenced the study of law, and in due time was admitted to the Bar. In the year 1806 he came to America, and began his career as a lawyer in New York City. After many years of lucrative practice, his convictions of duty led him to forsake the legal profession to prepare for entrance to the ministry of the

Episcopal Church. In 1824 he began the study of theology with Bishop Griswold, and after a somewhat longer candidacy than usual, was ordained.

Mr. Bristed felt very keenly the peculiar responsibility which fell to his lot as the successor of such a pastor as Bishop Griswold, but very ably and satisfactorily did he discharge the duties of his position. Almost his first work in the ministry had been the building up of the parish in Warren. In the autumn of 1828 he had begun to hold church services in Cole's Hall, and in November of the same year, St. Mark's parish had been formed. In 1829, through his energetic efforts, St. Mark's Church had been built. As soon as he became the rector of St. Michael's, Mr. Bristed began to devise measures for the erection of a new church. This had been one of the ends for which Bishop Griswold had striven many years in vain. The opposition of a few leading men had been sufficient to make the new building an impossibility during Bishop Griswold's rectorship, though the old church had long been too small comfortably to seat its large congregation. In 1832 such extensive repairs became necessary that Mr. Bristed found but little difficulty in bringing about the erection of a new church. On the sixth day of March, 1834, the edifice was consecrated by Bishop Griswold. It was a building eighty-five feet long by fifty-four wide, — "one of the most beautiful and commodious churches in the country." It was erected upon the site where the two former churches had stood. On the day after its consecration "a sufficient number of pews were sold to defray the whole cost of the building (amounting to nineteen thousand dollars), including a basement lecture-room fifty feet square, a large organ, and a fine-toned bell."

This beautiful edifice was not the first result of Mr. Bristed's labors in Bristol. He walked very carefully in the path in which his predecessor had trodden, and in 1830-31 a "revival" had brought over a hundred new communicants into the church. A few years later, in 1838, the Reformed Methodist Society of Bristol having been dissolved, another large accession was made to the membership of St. Michael's.

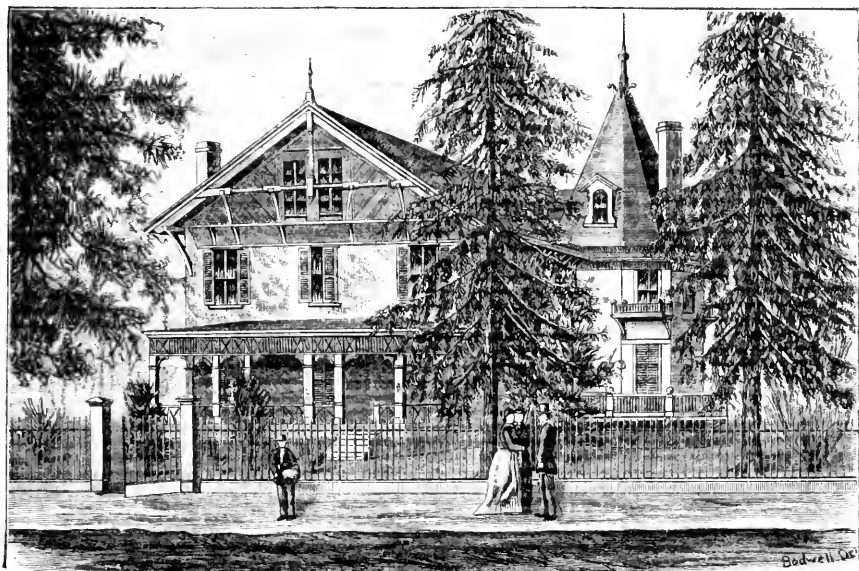
In 1837 Mr. Bristed's strength began to fail, and the Rev. Francis Peck and the Rev. Thomas F. Fales, both natives of the town, became in turn his assistants. The Rev. James H. Eames also served the parish for a year as Mr. Bristed's assistant. In 1843 his continued ill health compelled him to give up work entirely and to resign the rectorship. After his resignation he still retained his residence in the town. He died on the 23d of February, 1855.*

The Rev. James Welch Cooke was Mr. Bristed's successor. His rectorship extended from 1844-1850. Through his efforts the wooden chapel, which has since been sold and moved to the eastern end of State Street, was built in 1848, at a cost of about \$1,200. This building was originally 24

* Beside the tablet erected to the memory of Bishop Griswold, in the present edifice, is placed another with this inscription:—

Beneath
the shadow of this Church,
rest in hope the mortal remains of the
REV. JOHN BRISTED,
some time Rector of the same.
As a man, replenished with various learning,
accurate and instant in memory,
instructive and brilliant
in conversation,
His mind was intensely active,
His wit ready and sparkling,
His gifts and resources always at command.
As a preacher, sound in doctrine,
fervent in spirit, copious in language,
and oftentimes thrilling in delivery,
He was wise to win souls.
As a pastor, diligent, cordial, and sympathizing.
The affluent he attracted by his courtesy,
the poor by his beneficence,
And blessed all with the light of his example.
"Whose faith follow
Considering the end of their conversation;
Jesus Christ, the same yesterday,
to-day and forever."

Mr. Bristed, besides being a man of most brilliant colloquial powers, was also an unusually able writer, and published very many books. These are the titles of some of his works: *Resources of the United States*; *The Adviser, a Moral and Literary Tribunal* (4 vols.); *Notes of a Pedestrian Tour thro' part of Highland Scotland in 1801*; *A Collection of Critical and Philosophical Essays*; *Edward and Anna* (a novel); and *Thoughts on the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches*. Some five or six others might be mentioned. In 1829 Mr. Bristed married a daughter of John Jacob Astor. He left one son, Charles Astor Bristed, who also won a very enviable literary reputation.



Residence of Mrs. Ramon Guiteras.

feet wide and 48 feet long; after the erection of the present church edifice the chapel was lengthened 24 feet, to accommodate the greatly increased Sunday School.

In the *Russell Genealogy*, its editor, Mr. John R. Bartlett, has placed this account of Mr. Cooke: —

“James Welch Cooke, the eldest child of Joseph S. and Mary (Welch) Cooke, was born in Providence, March 5, 1810. Having received a full academic education, he entered Brown University, graduating with his class in 1829. He then began a course of legal studies, in the office of the late Samuel W. Bridgham, the first Mayor of Providence. Before they were completed, however, he addressed himself to preparation for the Episcopal ministry. Upon his graduation at the Theological Seminary of that Church in New York, his first clerical field was Lonsdale, R. I., where through his instrumentality Christ Church was founded; in which a memorial window, presented a few years since, testifies of him. He closed his pastorate there in 1835, having accepted the invitation of St. George's Church, New York, to become its Assistant Rector. Here he remained as the Associate of the late Rev. Dr. James Milnor, until 1843, when he succeeded the late Rev. John Bristed in the Rectorship of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, R. I., formerly and for

many years, under the pastoral charge of Bishop Griswold. At the close of 1851, he returned to New York, as Secretary of the Protestant Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions. His peculiar zeal in this service cost him his life. Having visited the Isthmus of Panama, on what he considered a special duty, he contracted a disease for which that region is noted, sickened upon the return trip, and died (April 12, 1853,) two days after reaching New York."

The following description of Mr. Cooke's theological views (also given in the *Russell Genealogy*) is interesting as showing what the views of his parish must have been, to a greater or less degree, upon the same subjects:—

"He was a very earnest disciple of what are termed 'Low-Church' views. His unfeigned Evangelicism gained him an esteem by no means confined to his successive congregations, and far more consonant to his feelings than was an incident which occurred a few years before his death. He deemed a candidate for orders, of whom he was one of the examining priests, to be unsound upon a vital point of gospel doctrine, and he declined to join in his ordination. But inasmuch as unobjectionable candidates were to be ordained at the same time, he was present and assisted in the ceremonies. When, however, contrary to his understanding of the matter, he was called upon to impose his hands upon this one also, he held aloof to the undisguised displeasure of the Bishop. It is not inappropriate to state in this connection that while Mr. Cooke loved and revered the Episcopal Church, he was more than tolerant toward other Christian bodies, for he delighted to manifest a fellowship with members of every Evangelical sect."

On the first day of January, 1852, the Rev. Joseph Trapnell, Jr., became the rector of the parish. Mr. Trapnell is the son of the late Rev. Joseph Trapnell, and was born at Bemmerton, Wiltshire, Eng., June 19, 1814. He came to this country in 1819, and was graduated from St. John's College, Annapolis, Md., in 1836. (Since his departure from Bristol he has received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the same institution.) His first rectorship was in Trinity Parish, Upper Marlboro, St. George County, Md.: thence he went to St. Andrew's Church, Baltimore: from Baltimore he came to Bristol, where he served St. Michael's with great fidelity for five years. He was chosen rector of St. John's Church, Keokuk, Iowa, in 1857, and after a few years of labor in that parish, was called to St. Mark's Church, Frederick County, Md., of which he has been for the last nineteen years, and still is, the rector.

The Rev. William Stowe * was elected rector of St. Michael's parish at the Easter meeting in 1858. In that year the church received from Mrs. Lydia S. French the very valuable gift of the lot of land lying next west of the church, with the substantial dwelling-house standing thereon, to be used as a rectory. At about a quarter before twelve o'clock on the night of Sunday, Dec. 5, 1858, the church was discovered to be on fire. The flames, when first seen, were bursting out from the large window in the eastern end of the building. So rapid was the work of destruction, that by 1 o'clock the church was in ruins. "The rector succeeded in saving his robes. A Prayer-book, a book of Psalms and Hymns, two chairs, a looking-glass and an umbrella-stand only were saved besides. The church was so densely filled with smoke that no one could safely enter it, and it was useless to attempt the removal of any but the articles named. These, with the exception of the two books, were all from the robing-room." Thus the parish a second time saw its church in ruins, but under circumstances very different from those which attended the destruction of the first edifice. The feeble band which had enjoyed the ministrations of the missionary sent over from England by the "Propagation Society," had become a strong and vigorous congregation, one which for years had been one of the most important of the Episcopal churches in New England. While the ashes were yet smoking, the vestry met together and decided that a new church should at once take the place of the old one. Peace and prosperity were then smiling upon the land, and the dark cloud that was soon lowering upon the southern horizon had not then taken definite shape. Perhaps if the fire had come two years later, the work of rebuilding would not have been so easy.

On the twelfth day of April, 1860, the corner stone of the present church was laid; on Tuesday, the twenty-sixth day of

* Mr. Stowe was a deacon at this time, having but recently entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was ordained to the priesthood very soon after he became rector. During his rectorship a parish debt of \$1,800, which had been incurred for repairs and alterations of the old church, was paid. From Bristol he went to Port Huron, Mich., where he remained nine years. He is now rector of St. John's Church, Clyde, N. S.

November, 1861, the edifice was consecrated. From the destruction of the old church until the new one was completed, the congregation met for service in the old Methodist meeting-house upon the Common. The new building should have been finished at a much earlier date, but in the latter part of August, 1860, the roof and the end walls which were nearly completed, fell in, through some defect in the work or the materials, necessitating very much additional labor. (On Tuesday evening Mr. James DeW. Perry was admitted to the order of deacons, the services being held in the newly-consecrated edifice.)

This is the description of the building, which appeared the next day in the *Providence Post*: —

"The building is a fine gothic structure of freestone, with a steeple on the southeast corner. It was built from plans furnished by Saeltzer & Valk, of New York, by George Ricker, of Newark, N. J. In its dimensions it is 111 feet long by 72 broad, and 72 feet from the floor to the apex of the roof. The steeple is 130 feet high, including a freestone tower, a belfry, and a spire of wood covered with slate. The roof is double, the clear roof resting on five arches on each side, which are supported by heavy columns. The windows are of stained glass.* On the left of the chancel are two marble tablets in niches, inscribed respectively to Bishop Griswold and the Rev. John Bristed. The body of the house contains 131 pews, capable of seating 750 persons, while the gallery which is over the vestibule will seat 75 more. The organ, which is from Hook's establishment, Boston, is on the right of the chancel. The pews, organ, desk, pulpit, and chancel rail are of black walnut, and the font is of white marble, and all except the pews and organ were furnished by the ladies of the parish. The entire floor is carpeted with a neat pattern in red and black, and the pews are upholstered ready for use. The cost of the building complete was about \$35,000, and the organ cost in addition thereto, \$2,000."

One-third of the pews sold for nearly two-thirds of the cost of the edifice. The highest sum paid as "choice money" was one thousand dollars.

In 1865 Mr. Stowe resigned the rectorship, to accept a call to Grace Church, Port Huron, Michigan. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Lewis P. W. Balch.† Dr. Balch remained

* The windows of the clere story have since been replaced with others of lighter glass, to give more light.

† Dr. Balch was born at Leesburg, Va., Feb. 1, 1814. He was ordained deacon by Bishop White, and priest by Bishop Mead. From 1853-1896, he was the secretary of

but one year, resigning in 1866 to become a canon of the Cathedral of Montreal.

In 1867 the Rev. George L. Locke, a native of Boston, and a graduate of Harvard College (class of 1859), became the rector.

During his rectorship the parish has increased in membership and in strength. Only two of the churches in the diocese surpass it in the number of communicants, 420 names being at present enrolled upon its books. In the year 1877, St. Michael's Chapel, one of the most beautiful edifices of the kind in the country, was erected. It deserves the following somewhat extended description which appeared in the *Phoenix* of April 21, 1877.



Chapel of St. Michael's Church.

“ The new Chapel of St. Michael's Parish is located on the east side of Hope Street, on a site rising gently towards the rear. The building is rectangular in plan, 52 by 76 feet, with a porch projecting five feet in front. The foundations are solidly built of local stone and enclose a cellar the full size of the building. The cellar is devoted to the heating apparatus, which consists of two ample Boynton furnaces, with pipes leading to all the rooms. The building is in the pointed style of architecture, with walls of brown stone from the McGregor quarries at East Longmeadow, Mass., laid in rock-face broken ashlar, with joints pointed with red mortar. The roof is covered with best dark Pennsylvania slate. At the northwest corner is a small bell turret, terminating in a metal cross. The open porch at the front leads to a commodious vestibule, which connects directly with the main room, the infant class room, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 26 feet, and another room 14 by 21 feet, for classes and general parish purposes, and by stairs, with the cellar and belfry. Adjoining the last-named room, and connected with it by sliding doors, is a similar room. Both of these and also the infant class room, the former

the House of Bishops. He was Canon of the Cathedral of Montreal from 1866-1871. He was Archdeacon of Kent, Huron, and Canon to the Cathedral in 1874. He died in Detroit, Mich., June 4, 1875.

two on the north and the latter on the west, are connected with the main room by handsome glazed screens which are arranged to slide up into the partitions so as to throw the whole suite together with little obstruction to sight and sound. Another room, 8 by 14 feet, opening from the main room on the north, is arranged for the Sunday School library. At the northeast corner of the building, and connecting with the main room, is the rector's study, 11 by 14 feet. This has adjoining it a small robing-room, which has an outside door, and a door opening to platform of main room. The platform is arranged somewhat after the manner of a chancel, though hardly of size and proportions, to warrant that title. At the south of the platform is an organ chamber, 6 by 7 feet, with arches opening to platform and to main room. The main room is 34 by 50 feet. The vertical walls are twelve feet high, and the upper part is finished up into the roof about 25 feet, showing the trusses, which are finished with stained white pine. The other rooms are 12 feet high, finished with flat ceilings. Above the ceilings is an open space under the roof which has an opening for ventilation at each end under the ridge. Connecting with the space under the roof, are ventilators in ceilings of main and class rooms, arranged to open and close by means of cords.

The doors and inside finish throughout are of ash, and most of the floors are of southern hard pine. The windows of the south side are glazed with decorated cathedral glass, those on the north side where more clear white light is wanted, and some others, have plain glass with tinted borders. The walls and ceilings throughout, except the rector's study, are tinted in distemper, and treated with considerable color decoration, rich but sober in effect.

The study, in order to give it a rather more domestic character, has its walls decorated very appropriately with paper hanging. The arched panel at the north of the chancel arch is filled with a set of tablets richly illuminated in gold and color, and having the Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, with a design at the top having a cross entwined with ivy and holly. These tablets are the gift of Henry Codman, Esq., who also gave the rich crimson Brussels carpet of the platform. For artificial lighting, the building is amply provided with gas fixtures of polished brass. The main room has a large central chandelier, and a suitable number of side brackets, and the side rooms have chandeliers and brackets as their needs require. The main room is furnished with ash seats with reversible backs, and the other rooms have appropriate ash furniture made specially for them. The reading-desk, lectern, table and platform seats are of black walnut. The chapel has been built from designs and under the direction of Mr. Stephen C. Earle, of Boston. The builders were Norcross Brothers, of Worcester. The cost of the building with heating apparatus, exclusive of furniture, has been about \$12,500.

The parish of St. Michael's has furnished much more than its proportion of ministers to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Besides Bishop Griswold, it has given two bishops, the Rt.

Rev. Benjamin B. Smith, of Kentneky, for some years the presiding bishop of the church, and the Rt. Rev. Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, of Central Pennsylvania. At least a dozen more of its ministers, now living, were born within the limits of the parish, while many others, besides, are at rest from their labors.

These are at present the wardens and vestry of the parish:
Wardens — Jonathan D. Waldron and Robert S. Andrews;
Vestrymen — Thomas J. Usher, George H. Pearce, Theodore P. Bogert, John H. Pitman, Andrew R. Trotter, Otis Munro, Edward S. Babbitt, William T. C. Wardwell, Samuel P. Colt, Herbert F. Bennett and Wilfred H. Munro.*

* In the list of the first vestry of the parish, elected on Easter Monday in 1724, appears the name of William Munro, an ancestor, five generations removed, of the author of this book. From father to son in unbroken line the office has come down for one hundred and fifty-six years. The fact seems most remarkable. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find its parallel.

CHAPTER XLII.

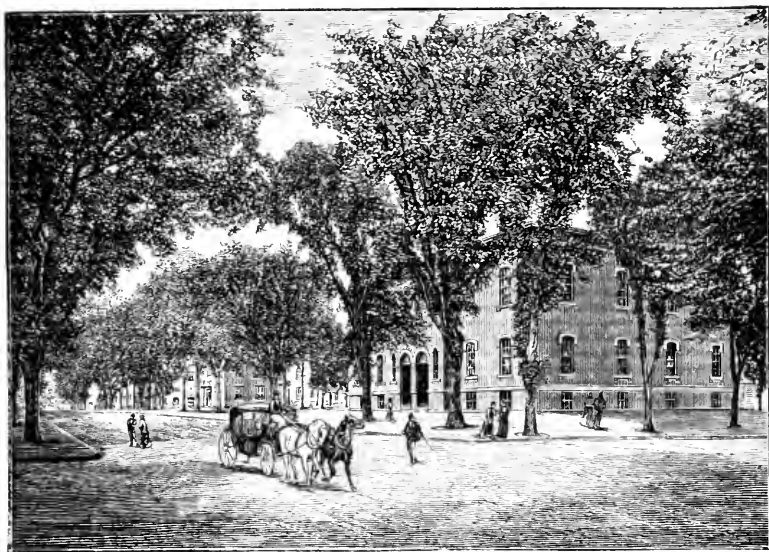
THE SCHOOLS.*

FOUR years before the day when the people of Bristol met together in their first town-meeting, the General Court of Plymouth Colony enacted that if any town of seventy families should be destitute of a *grammar school*, it should be taxed £5 for the support of such a school "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers." This law was still in force when Bristol was founded, but a mandate from the General Court was not needed to induce the liberal-minded founders of the town to take action in the matter. In the Grand Articles suitable provision for the support of a school was made, and at the fourth town-meeting, Sept. 7, 1682, this vote was passed: —

Voted: "That each person that hath children in town ready to go to school, shall pay 3d. the week for each child's schooling to a school-master, and the town by rate according to each rateable estate shall make the wages amount to twenty-four pounds the year. The selectmen to look out a grammar schoolmaster and use their endeavor to obtain five pounds of the Cape money† granted for such an end."

* In the year 1875, at the request of the School Committee, a very able and complete historical sketch of the public schools of Bristol was prepared by Miss Ellen R. Luther, for publication in the "centennial year." From Miss Luther's account the extended quotations which appear in this chapter are taken.

† The profit arising from the fishery upon the Cape was devoted to the maintenance of grammar schools. In this connection the exact meaning of the term grammar school should be carefully borne in mind. The only kind of grammar taught in those days was *Latin* grammar; the only grammar schools were those in which the study of Latin was pursued. The study of English grammar has only within a comparatively recent period become an essential feature of a school course. In England the original meaning is for the most part still attached to the



The Byfield School.

Samuel Cobbitt became the first "schoolmaster" of the town in 1685. A house lot, a ten-acre lot, and a portion of the "land for common improvement," were set apart for his use, while a small sum of money was also appropriated to defray the expenses of his moving to the town. Thenceforward, votes concerning the school and schoolmaster appear almost as frequently upon the town records as those concerning the meeting-house and the minister.

Mr. Cobbitt held the position of schoolmaster until 1694, when Josiah Hervey was appointed to succeed him, with a salary of £25 per annum, and the use of the school-lands. "Mr. Hervey's stay among the youths of the town seems to have been short, for it stands recorded that in 1699 Mr. Easterbrooks was 're-elected' schoolmaster with a salary of

name; in this country we have almost entirely lost sight of its primary signification. This fact, therefore, is apparent in this vote—that the town of Bristol, in its very earliest years, raised its voice in favor of the most advanced education which could then be obtained.

£30. Part of this was to be paid by the scholars themselves, '3d. a week for Reading and Writing, and 4d. for Latin;' the remainder to be made up by the town." Toward the end of the year it was proposed, on account of the increase of inhabitants on the outskirts, to divide the town into two school districts, the "North Creek" being the dividing line. The opposition of Mr. Easterbrooks defeated the plan that year, but in 1700 the representations of those living north of the bridge were sufficient to bring about the object desired. The sum of £20 was voted to the part of the town south of the North Creek, provided it "improved a schoolmaster" eight months of the year, and £10 were voted to those living north of the bridge for maintaining a school for four months.

In 1701 Mr. Severs succeeded Mr. Easterbrooks. In the following year £20 were appropriated for the building of a school-house in the compact part of the town, the school having before been taught in private houses. There is no record, however, to show that a school-house was built at that time. "Mr. Severs remained until 1705 and was succeeded by Samuel Howland, in 1709. He was 'persuaded to tarry' until 1712. Upon his resignation of office, Timothy Fales was installed 'school master.' The total expense of maintaining the town government at this time was £60, forty of which went to the schoolmaster. Mr. Howland was afterwards Town Clerk for many years."

"In 1714 Mr. Byfield conveyed to John Nutting, who was teacher of the Grammar School at that time, for the use of the schools forever, certain lands known ever since as the 'school lands.' These are in four lots or parcels: a lot lying between Church and Byfield streets and extending west of High Street to the estate of the late John Hoard; a lot at the east of the town, bounded on the west by the old burying-ground and the estate of the late Leonard Waldron, on the north by State Street, on the south by the Mount Road, and extending east as far as the property of Mr. John Barney; a lot between State Street and Bradford Street, extending west from Wood Street one hundred and sixty-five feet; a lot on the main road to Warren. A part of this land was rented the very next year, and most of it has been productive of more or less income ever since, much of it being at present leased for a long term of years. For a very long time the school was mainly supported by this income. The people were never taxed directly for this purpose after this gift, un-

til far into the present century. It must have been some time between 1830 and 1840 (1839) that the Committee first asked for a special appropriation from the town for the support of the school. The sum asked was \$500. The request was granted without difficulty. The amount received from the rent of the lands was, previous to the appropriation, eked out in various ways."

In 1718, and for many years afterward, a license fee, varying from 21s. to £4, was charged upon all houses of entertainment, and the money obtained was devoted to the support of the schools. In 1729 the schoolmaster was instructed to receive from each scholar 4s., or its value in fire-wood. In 1818 (May 2d), a vote was passed that all money which should come to the town from the property of strangers dying within its limits, should be devoted to the support of the free schools.

Voted, "That the Town Council be instructed to exact a reasonable sum from all persons who may dance the slack rope or wire, or perform any feats of activity, or exhibit any animal or wax figures, or other show in this town who exact pay from their spectators; and to collect double the sum exacted in case any person shall presume to exhibit without their permission, and that the money arising under this Act be appropriated to the support of free schools."

In 1832 the Committee were instructed to demand from all those scholars whose parents were able to pay it, a sum not to exceed twenty-five cents, for the purchase of books, stationery, etc. This practice prevailed until 1867; since that time the schools have been entirely *free*. The scholar, from his entrance to the primary until his graduation from the high school, pays nothing whatever for his education, and the town provides even the books and the stationery which he uses.

In 1724 it was proposed to settle a schoolmaster for the term of seven years. The salary was to be £50 per annum for a single man; £60 for one who was married. Mr. Amos Throope was induced to take the position, but at the end of seven months, having received a call to the ministry from Woodstock, asked from the town a release from his engagement. Mr. John Wight, of Dedham, was his successor,

beginning his term of office in 1728. Having proved himself an excellent teacher, at the expiration of one year he was re-elected for seven years.

The town-meeting, in 1727, appropriated £50 for the erection of a school-house. It was a one-story, gambrel-roofed building, twenty-six feet by twenty, and twelve feet between joists. It was thought large enough to hold sixty scholars; many more than that number were frequently packed into it, for the seating (?) accommodations of those days admitted of indefinite expansion. The school-house was placed behind the Court House in State Street (nearly opposite the M. E. Church lot), and stood until 1799, when it was taken down and the school was transferred to the Court House.

Mr. Wight remained until 1740. In 1738 he was charged in town-meeting with not doing his duty, but nevertheless retained his place for two years longer. Mr. Hovey followed, with a salary of £130; from 1742 to 1747 Shearjashub Bourne held the office. From the expiration of Mr. Bourne's term of service until the year 1772, the schoolmasters appear and disappear with bewildering rapidity. Daniel Bradford, John Throope, Bosworth Kinnicutt, John Coomer and Samuel Pearse taught the "Neck School" during that time. The teachers in town were Shearjashub Bourne, Israel Nichols, Leverett Hubbard, Bellamy Bosworth, Nathaniel Lindall, John Throope, Josiah Brown, Haile Turner, John Barrows, and John Usher, Jr. In 1764, £1,050 were paid to Mr. Usher for teaching for a year and a half.* From 1772 to 1781 no school whatever was maintained. Samuel Bosworth taught from 1781-1788, and from that time forward the schoolmaster's name disappears from the records of the town-meetings. The direction of affairs relating to the schools was about that time committed to the charge of a prudential committee, and the committee kept no records.

"In 1802 Peter Church, William DeWolf, William Coggeshall and others, living on the Neck, presented a petition in town-meeting, praying to be allowed to build a school-house

* See page 165.



Residence of Mrs. M. DeW. Rogers.

on the ten-acre school lot on the main road to Warren. This petition was granted and a brick building, twenty-two feet by twenty, was erected. This was used for a public school until 1841, when a new school-house was built much nearer the town, on the east side of the road, on a part of the land belonging to the Asylum Farm. The town appropriated \$500 for this purpose, and in 1843 it sold the old brick house and laid out the proceeds on the new one." Only a pile of bricks now marks the site of the old building.

John DeWolf, Moses Van Doorn and Charles Collins were in 1804 appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for a new school-house in the south district (the compact part of the town). The money needed was easily obtained, the Masonic Society bearing half the expense of erection, and securing a lodge-room in the second story. The building was not entirely completed until 1809, a small appropriation being made for it by the town that year. It has since that time been greatly enlarged.*

* The sum of \$700 was named upon the subscription paper, "to be applied to building a brick house upon the Common, to be 50 feet in length, 28 feet in width,

The town was divided into three school districts, stretching from shore to shore, in 1811. "The North District extended from 'Peck's Hill' to Warren; the Middle began at 'Peck's Hill,' and extended to Poppasquash Corner, and included Poppasquash; the South District comprised the remainder of the town." In that same year the school lands, which before had been rented annually, were leased for periods of from twenty to fifty years.

"After 1788, as has been before said, the town records do not hold themselves responsible for the name of the schoolmaster. About the year 1835, the Committee began to issue a yearly report of the condition of the schools. Of these none is known to exist of a date earlier than 1838. There is, then, an interval of fifty years, from 1788 to 1838, of which there is no written record whatever, and which must therefore be filled — as far as it is filled at all — from memory. This portion of school history will of necessity be somewhat unsatisfactory. No successful attempt can be made to fix any date before 1825, and there is not wanting a reasonably strong suspicion that the list of teachers, especially the earlier ones, is not perfect. Daniel Bradford, mentioned before as having taught on the Neck — or perhaps his son — is the most remote name that it is possible to lay hold upon with any degree of certainty, and he must have come a long time after Samuel Bosworth, as he is within the memory of people living now. He was succeeded by Mr. Swan, who in his turn gave place to Mr. Rawson, and he again to Capt. William R. Noyes. Of the first three there is nothing to be said but that they taught the school, managed it with more or less success, and were themselves more or less managed by unruly boys, who would stuff seaweed into the stove pipe, and thought it was a fine thing to "thrash" the schoolmaster. But the name of Captain Noyes is a familiar one to the older inhabitants of the town, many of whom were his scholars. He was as successful as it was possible for any one to be, in the days when everything seems to have been arranged with a view to hindering and nothing for helping the teacher. Text-books were very scarce, one or two of a kind doing duty through the whole school. A scholar commenced his education with Alden's Speller. When he had mastered this he was expected to learn a lesson twice a week from the New Testament. From this he passed to the English Speaker. These, together with Daboll's Arithmetic, made up the list of text-books. Occasionally, to lighten the labors of the teacher, monitors were employed from the more advanced scholars, but not systematically. Captain Noyes was a remarkably fine penman, the copies which he wrote

and two stories high — the expense of the building to be equally borne by the town and the Masonic Society — the first story, or ground floor, to belong to the town for a free school room forever." James DeWolf's subscription was \$400, George DeWolf and Charles DeWolf subscribed \$100 each.

being almost as fine as copper-plate. He set all the copies and mended all the pens. He taught navigation to young men going to sea, but this was quite separate and distinct from his regular work. He was succeeded by Otis Storrs.

"At this point we reach a reliable date. About the year 1826, Mr. Storrs came to Bristol and opened a private school in the Academy, on what is known as the Lancasterian system. His success was so great that in 1828 the Committee asked him to take the town school and allow girls to go and share his instructions with the boys. Before this, girls did not go to the public school. Upon his acceptance, they enlarged the brick school-house and fitted it up with reference to the workings of this peculiar system. The teacher's desk stood on a raised platform at the west end of the room. Down the length of the school-room, through the middle, ran a single aisle. On each side of this were arranged semi-circular desks, with seats on the outer curve for the scholars. The desks did not have lids but were open in front, and each accommodated eight scholars. On the inner curve was a bench where they sat to recite. The monitor who heard the recitations, had a stool in the centre of the circle. The teacher heard the monitors recite and had the supervision of the school. This system was very popular at the time. Mr. Storrs was succeeded by John Cross, and he by James E. Hidden."

Dennis S. Gushee became teacher of the Grammar School in 1836. He was not a believer in the Lancasterian system, and the school-rooms were therefore remodeled and arranged after the more modern plan. He continued to teach until 1849. During his term of office a vigorous and successful effort was made by the Committee to give system to the school organization. Several grades were established. The highest school was called the Select School; the other grades were the Grammar, the Intermediate, and the Primary.

A committee was appointed by the town in 1830 to purchase the Academy of Mr. James DeWolf. The building was erected in 1791, for the use of a private school. From time to time the town had hired a portion of it, when the number of scholars was too large to be accommodated in the Brick School-House. When the committee approached Mr. DeWolf upon the subject, he at once presented the town with a deed of the building. It was used thenceforward until the "Byfield School" was completed, when it was sold at auction and moved away; it has since been converted into two dwelling-houses. About the time of the purchase of the Academy,

primary schools were organized. The North and South Primary and the Northeast District school-houses were built in 1848.

The School Committee of 1849 was authorized to elect a Superintendent of Schools, with a salary of not more than \$200. The Rev. Thomas Shepard was the first to hold the office. The following is the list of Superintendents:—

Rev. Thomas Shepard.....1849-1855.	John N. Burgess.....1862-1864.
George B. Monro.....1855-1859.	Robert S. Andrews.....1864-1877.
Robert S. Andrews.....1859-1862.	Parmenas Skinner, Jr.....1877—.

“For a long time some of the more liberal minded of the citizens of Bristol had felt the need of a higher course of study than that pursued in the Grammar School. But the least suggestion of such a thing was met by violent opposition. But the project had among its supporters three men of culture and influence, whose own liberal education enabled them to appreciate more clearly than most, the influence of a higher system of study, not only upon the students themselves, but also on the general intelligence and cultivation. These were Rev. Thomas Shepard, Rev. James W. Cooke, and Rev. James N. Sykes. Supported by the other members of the School Committee, they did valiant service for the cause, and at length won the victory—won it, but did not dare to acknowledge that they had.

“In the autumn of 1848, the Committee were holding their regular meeting in Mr. Shepard’s study. They had debated whether it was possible to establish a High School. There had been expressed a good deal of doubt, both on account of want of means and lack of general friendliness towards the undertaking. All present were strongly in favor of it, yet all were taken by surprise when Mr. William B. Spooner rose and moved that such a school should be organized. The subject was now fairly before them, and although they were frightened, almost, by the audacity of the scheme, when it came to assume a tangible shape, the motion was seconded and carried without a dissenting voice, and the “Select School” became a fixed fact—the “Select School,” for they did not choose to offend the prejudices of the town by calling it the “High School.” They were contented for the present with the fact, the name would come all in good time.

“The scholars who were to constitute this school were selected from the various schools in the town. They were forty-five in number, and they occupied the lower part of the Academy. The school opened auspiciously, with William E. Jillson at the head. The committee were most fortunate in the selection of this the first teacher. He was a man of genial disposition, easily accessible, and regarded his pupils as his personal friends. His success was such as to win the admiration of even the enemies of the school. To the extreme regret of the Committee and of the school, the connection came to an end in the fall of 1849.

Mr. Jillson was afterwards Assistant Librarian at the Congressional Library, at Washington, and later, Librarian at the Public Library, Boston. He was succeeded by Lafayette Burr, under whom the school went on prosperously something over two years.

"In the spring of 1851, Dr. Nathan B. Cooke was elected to fill the place left vacant by Mr. Burr. Dr. Cooke was a doctor of medicine and a minister of the Baptist Society, but owing to an affection of the throat, he was obliged to give up preaching for a number of years, during which time the Committee were so fortunate as to secure his services. A more faithful, thorough and interested teacher no school ever had. While it was under his charge a systematic plan of study was adopted. This, together with the fact that the school had increased greatly in numbers, rendered an assistant teacher necessary, and created a demand for more room. The Academy was therefore enlarged in 1852, and the school moved up stairs. The east end of the upper part had been separated from the main room by a partition and sliding doors, and was used for a recitation-room, and Mary W. Shepard was installed assistant. Not long after, a small sum of money was expended by the Committee for philosophical apparatus. For the space of nine years Dr. Cooke remained in the position. At the end of this time he removed to Newton, Mass., where he taught two years. While there he met Prof. Lewis Monroe, the elocutionist, who encouraged him to think that it was possible for him to resume preaching. It had always been a source of deep sorrow to him that he was debarred from following his chosen calling, and upon Professor Monroe's decision he removed to Leicester, Mass., to take charge of a parish, and thence to Lonsdale, R. I., where he remained until his death in 1871. His remains were brought to Bristol, and laid in Juniper Hill Cemetery.

"Upon Mr. Cooke's withdrawal in 1860, Thomas W. Bicknell, of Barrington, was elected to the office. He remained three years, and then left, to accept the principalship of one of the grammar schools of Providence. Henry S. Latham, a most accomplished scholar, succeeded him. At the end of four years, the Committee paid Mr. Bicknell the deserved compliment of asking him to become the principal of the school again. He accepted the invitation and remained two years. Mr. Bicknell received the office of Commissioner of Public Schools in 1869, which he retained several years. He is now editor of the *New England Journal of Education*.

"In 1869, Frank G. Morley was chosen principal. Although young, he developed a remarkable ability for imparting information, and unusual talent for controlling the school. . . . For nearly six years he labored. At the end of this time his health failed, and he sent his resignation to the Committee to take effect at the end of the term. But so rapid were the inroads of disease that he was forced to leave soon after the middle. He went to Pittsfield, Mass., where he died of consumption at the residence of his father, Rev. J. B. Morley, Aug. 1, 1875."

Miss Ellen R. Luther, the assistant teacher, was placed in charge of the school after the departure of Mr. Morley; retaining its control until Mr. Charles Fish was elected principal. Mr. Fish taught but one term and was succeeded by Walter F. Marston. At the end of two years' service Mr. Marston resigned and Edward D. Mason was chosen to fill his place. Mr. Mason resigned in 1879, and was succeeded by Mr. James A. Estee, the present principal. The following is the list of the principals of the High School, with their terms of service and the names of the colleges (so far as known) from which they graduated:—

W. E. Jillson (Brown Univ. 1846)	1848-49	F. G. Morley (Williams Col. 1867)	1869-75	
Lafayette Burr (" "	1848)	1849-51	Charles Fish (————) 1875 one term.	
N. B. Cooke, M. D. (" "	1840)	1851-50	W. F. Marston (————) 1875-77	
T. W. Bicknell (" "	1860)	1860-63	E. D. Mason (Dartmouth Col. 1872)	1877-79
H. S. Latham (" "	1863)	1863-67	James A. Estee (Alfred Univ. 1872)	1879—
T. W. Bicknell (" "	1860)	1867-69		

In 1851 a school for colored children was opened. It continued to be maintained until 1864, when by act of the Legislature, all distinctions of color in the public schools were abolished.

Mr. Joshua Kendall, the principal of the State Normal School (from 1858 to 1864 the sessions of the Normal School were held in Bristol), was elected chairman of the School Committee in 1862. Under his superintendence, a very radical change was made in the grading of the schools. The High School and the primary schools remained as before, while five successive grades were placed between them. Other changes have since been made. The schools of the South District now are: one High School, three grammar, three intermediate, one advanced primary, and four primary schools. Throughout the winter, two evening schools, one for boys and one for girls, are maintained.

In the year 1871 the necessity for more improved accommodations for the schools had become so apparent that the erection of a new building was determined upon. The old Methodist meeting-house, which stood upon the southwest corner of the Common, was moved away and the "Byfield

School" was erected upon its site. The building is two stories high, with a French roof. It contains eight school-rooms and a large hall above them. The cost of this school-house was \$40,000; its furnishing cost \$4,700 besides.

Its architect was C. T. Emerson, of Lawrence, Mass., and James Lawless, John R. Slade, Solon H. Smith, John B. Munro, William H. West, James M. Gifford, and Alfred Pierce were the building committee chosen to superintend its construction. It was dedicated with appropriate exercises, Saturday, Sept. 6, 1873. The following "Dedication Ode" was written for the occasion by the Right Rev. Dr. Howe:—

When first upon the rock-bound strand
Our pilgrim fathers made their home,
Beside their huts, with pious hand,
They built for prayer a humble dome.

Soon in the forest-clearing rose
The village school of logs unhewn,
The roof was green with hemlock
boughs,
Through creviced wall the light was
strewn.

The fathers toiled and fought by turns
To break the soil—repel the foe;—
Th' heroic fire that inly burns,
Was fanned to flame that roof below.

The house of prayer, the village school—
These were the muniments of power,
The strength to hold, the skill to rule,
Were drawn from these in needful
hour.

O, shades of holy men and brave,
Whose dust lies buried round these
walls,
Wake from your tranquil rest, we crave,
And hover o'er these votive halls.

The full-grown village school behold,
Planted in faith by works displayed!
Your logs have sprouted, and we hold
Our festal day beneath their shade.

Come, thronging generations, come,
Here gird your souls for generous
strife,
Beneath this roof find Learning's home;
And near it seek the Tree of Life!

God of our fathers, still maintain
The heritage their prowess gave!
Churches and schools henceforth remain
Th' armories of the free and brave.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

To give an accurate account of the share which Bristol and the other towns of Rhode Island once took in the slave-trade is now impossible. Its immense profits made those who were engaged in it unwilling to make public many facts connected with the business;—the higher moral tone which now prevails throughout the world has induced their descendants to suppress all the evidences which proved the participation of their ancestors in it. This sensitiveness is natural, but unnecessary. Let us not hold our ancestors responsible for deeds which in their day were not regarded as sinful. Perhaps a century hence actions and practices which now occasion no comment, may seem in the highest degree blameworthy to those who shall succeed us. For the slave-trade the author does not propose to make the slightest defence. In his opinion it admits of none. It justly merits the infamy the world now heaps upon it. For those merchants and seamen of Bristol who engaged in it during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and prior to the year 1808, when it was declared illegal, a few words of explanation and apology may well be offered.

It is not necessary here to recapitulate the history of slavery, as it had existed in the world before America was discovered; the facts are familiar to all intelligent readers. Among all the nations of the world the institution has at some time flourished in some form. Negro slavery was the

result of the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century. The African slave-trade was begun by the Portuguese in 1444, and the other nations of Europe were not slow in following in the track of those enterprising navigators. During the reign of the Stuarts the trade flourished in England with great vigor, and its extension to the English colonies became a matter of course. There were *white* slaves as well as black in America, as those who have read Charles Reade's *Wandering Heir* may, perhaps, have realized. The supply of laborers was very limited, and Indians conquered in battle were sold into servitude by their conquerors. The first *negro* slaves sold in the English colonies were brought in a Dutch vessel and landed at Jamestown, Virginia, in the year 1620. Very soon the "peculiar institution" acquired a firm foothold, and for years scarcely a doubt was raised as to its propriety or morality.

We have no means of knowing when the first negro slaves were landed in Bristol. Their coming was not deemed a fact so unusual as to be worthy of a record. In Nathaniel Byfield's will (as has been before mentioned), he gives orders for the disposition of his negro slave, Rose, "brought to Bristol from the West Indies in the spring of 1718." It is quite possible that the first vessels to ply between this town and the West Indies were both willing and desirous to bring back slaves upon their return trip. The early establishment of distilleries shows that the people of Bristol must soon have ceased to draw their slave supply from the West Indies, and that they soon began to invest capital in the African slave-trade.

This was the way in which the business was conducted: Nearly all the owners of the distilleries also owned many vessels. From Cuba a cargo of molasses was procured and quickly converted into New England rum. From the distillery the great casks went straight to the hold of a schooner or sloop lying at the neighboring wharf. Some light goods, suited to the barbaric tastes of the natives of the coast, were also placed on board, and the vessel was cleared for the coast

of Africa. The voyage was almost always a long one, for the vessels were built to carry freight, and not for speed; the stay upon the coast was also somewhat protracted (depending greatly upon the condition of the inland tribes, from whom the captives were mostly obtained). One by one, the hogsheads of rum would be bartered for slaves, until the desired number was obtained, and then the captain would sail for Cuba, or one of the neighboring islands, where he was always sure of a ready market for his cargo. There he would load with molasses for Bristol, and so the round would be completed.

The number of negroes taken on board was never very large. It did not pay to take too many. The owners were also extremely careful of the health of their cargo. They did not force their human freight into quarters as crowded as those with which the sailors who served upon privateers were well content. The slaves were not packed together as the emigrants from England have been upon the Liverpool clipper-ships, within the memory of many now living. The voyages were made without a very great amount of hardship. Most of the letters from the masters of the slave-vessels have been lost. Occasionally they are met with and furnish very entertaining reading. No scruples respecting the nature of their business appear to have troubled these writers. One captain piously writes: "We have now been twenty days upon the coast, and by the blessing of God, shall soon have a good cargo." The following is a very good specimen of the correspondence. (It was furnished for publication in the *Phoenix* five or six years ago, by the son of the writer.)

"ST. THOMAS, April 1, 1796.

"CAPTAIN JAMES DEWOLF:

"This will inform you of my arrival in this port safe, with seventy-eight well slaves. I lost two on my passage. I had sixty-two days passage. I received your letter and orders to draw bills on thirty days' sight, but I have agreed to pay in slaves—two men slaves at twenty-eight Joes,* and one boy at twenty-five Joes and another at twenty Joes. I found times very bad on the coast. Prime slaves are one hogshead

*The Joe or Johannes is a gold coin of Portugal, named for King John, whose image it bears. Its present value is eight dollars.

and thirty gallons of rum or seven Joes gold, and boys one hogshead of rum. I left Captain Isaac Manchester at Anembue with ninety slaves on board, all well. To-morrow I shall sail for Havana, agreeable to your orders. I shall do the best I can, and without other orders load with molasses and return to Bristol.

“I remain your friend and humble servant,

“JEREMIAH DIMAN.”

The Legislature of South Carolina opened the ports of that State for the importation of African slaves in 1804. They remained open for four years, and during that period 202 vessels, with nearly 40,000 negroes on board, entered the harbor of Charleston. The election of James DeWolf to the United States Senate, sixteen years afterward, brought out some interesting statistics which might otherwise have escaped notice. It should be remarked here, that while the name of DeWolf rises most naturally to the lips when the part which Bristol took in the slave-trade is spoken of, yet the DeWolfs were by no means the only persons interested in the traffic. The men of that family were most prominently concerned in it, and made the most money by it; consequently, their connection with the business is remembered, while that of their less conspicuous associates is lost sight of.

One of the Senators from South Carolina, Judge Smith, delivered the speech from which the figures that follow are taken. The question whether Missouri should be admitted as a slave state was then under discussion. In the North public opinion concerning slavery had greatly changed since 1808, and in parts of the South, even, the subject was beginning to be looked at in a different light. In South Carolina, the chief of the Slave States, very little change had come over the minds of the great mass of the people; but the leading planters, who formed the governing class, had begun to realize that there was a distinction—mysterious and subtle, but yet far-reaching—to be drawn between the man who, in other days, in a perfectly legitimate business upon which the world had not frowned, had ventured his fortune upon the ocean and exposed his life to the dangers of equatorial hurricanes and the deadly dews of Africa,—and the more fortunate being, whose life of

contented ease was supported by the labor of slaves purchased without a hint of risk, or of danger. This haughty assumption of superiority did much to widen the breach that was opening between the North and the South, and to precipitate the contest from whose throes the country has only just emerged.

Judge Smith in his speech reflected severely upon the bitterness the people of Rhode Island had lately shown against slaveholders, and especially against the admission of Missouri as a slave state. "This, however, he believed could not be the temper or opinion of the majority, from the late election of James DeWolf as a member of the Senate, as he had accumulated an immense fortune by the slave-trade." He went on to show, that of the two hundred and two vessels whose names he gave, "ten and their African cargoes belonged to Mr. DeWolf." This recapitulation closed his speech:—

RECAPITULATION OF THE AFRICAN TRADE, AND BY WHAT NATIONS SUPPORTED
FROM 1ST JANUARY, 1804, TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1807.

Vessels belonging to Charleston, . . .	61	Vessels belonging to Sweden, . . .	1
" " " Rhode Island, . . .	59	" " " Great Britain, . . .	70
" " " Baltimore, . . .	4	" " " France, . . .	3
" " " Boston, . . .	1		—
" " " Norfolk, . . .	2		202
" " " Connecticut, . . .	1		
Consignees, natives of Charleston, . . .	13	Consignees, natives of France, . . .	10
" " " Rhode Island, . . .	88		—
" " " Great Britain, . . .	91		202

SLAVES IMPORTED AT CHARLESTON, FROM THE 1ST JANUARY, 1804, TO THE 31ST
DECEMBER, 1807, AND BY WHAT NATION.

British,	19,949
French,	1,078
	21,027

In American Vessels.

Charleston, S. C.,	5,723
Of this number there belonged to foreigners,	5,717
	26,744

Leaving imported by merchants and	Savannah,	300	
Planters of Charleston and vicin-	Norfolk,	287	
ity,	Hartford,	250	
Bristol,	Boston,	200	
Newport,	Philadelpha,	200	
Providence,	New Orleans,	100	— 12,331
Warren,			
Baltimore,			39,075

In 1808 the African slave-trade was prohibited by law, and very shortly after that time the leading nations of the world united in efforts to suppress it. But because it immediately became more profitable than it ever had been before, men still continued to engage in it. Then came the "horrors of the Middle Passage," the recital of which even now curdles the blood. The old, easy-going, and comparatively comfortable vessels of former years were abandoned, because unsuited to the changed conditions of the business. Ships built only for speed took their places. Into their shallow holds hundreds of human beings were remorselessly thrust, and over the stifling mass inhuman owners did not hesitate to draw the hatches whenever the dreaded men-of-war came in sight. The sickening details need not be mentioned here. It was the fiendish cruelty of those voyages which drew upon the accursed traffic the execrations of the whole civilized world, and which covered those who had formerly engaged in the business with a load of opprobrium they did not deserve. With those voyages the name of Bristol should not be connected.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

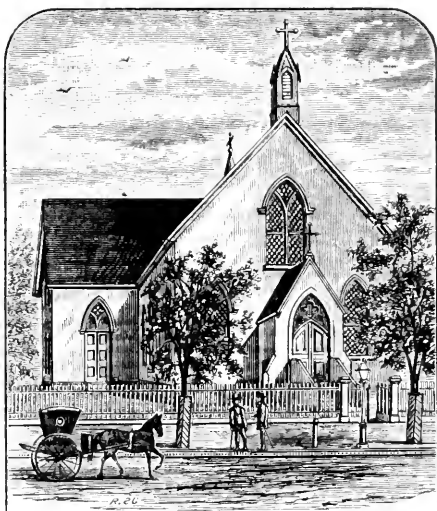
1854-1880.

ON the twentieth day of May, 1854, three days after his ordination to the priesthood, the Rev. Michael McCallion was appointed pastor of Warren and Bristol, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop O'Reilly, of Hartford. In Warren a little church had been erected to accommodate the small congregation which his predecessors upon the mission station, Fathers Daly, Moore, Mallon, Tucker, and Lamb had gathered together. In Bristol the same clergymen had occasionally officiated, but no church had been erected, and the few scattered families could hardly be called a congregation.

The appointments to the parishes of the Roman Catholic Church, are made upon a system very different from that which prevails in other religious bodies. The connection between the pastor and his flock is meant to be a permanent one. It cannot be dissolved at the will of the people. The bishop of the diocese confers the appointment, and he alone has the power to dissolve the pastoral relation. Thus a parish priest who does his duty, is very rarely called upon to change his field of labor, unless he has manifested abilities which entitle him to much higher preferment in the church. Very rarely do the pastors themselves care to make a change. Continual residence gives them opportunities for influence which itinerating ministers are seldom able to acquire.

Father McCallion is a native of Ireland. He was educated at the Sulpician College in Montreal, and the Theological Seminary in Baltimore. Immediately after receiving his appoint-

ment he began his labors in the field to which he felt that his life's work had been allotted. The Warren church had already become well established, and in that town, therefore, he fixed his residence. Bristol was to be for many years simply a mission station. On the first Sunday he was permitted to celebrate Mass in the Town Hall, but the use of that edifice was



St. Mary's Church.

afterwards denied him, and he was obliged to hold services in private houses. The fact that "Know-nothingism" at that time held sway in the town, may, perhaps, account for this display of religious illiberality. Very different was the treatment which had been accorded to Bishop Cheverus, the first Roman Catholic who is recorded to have preached in this town,* as this account from one who heard him testifies. Bishop Cheverus came to this town to visit a French family in 1817.

"Bishop Griswold, learning of his visit here, at once called upon him and the visit was reciprocated. He was invited to preach in St. Michael's Church and notice thereof was promulgated. It was in the spring of that year, and if my memory serves me right was shortly after Easter. I was a lad at the time, and accompanied my grand-parents to the Church. The audience was quite large, drawn together chiefly by motives of curiosity. The services were held at 11 o'clock. Bishop Cheverus was a small man, rather below the medium size, dressed in black, and wore an

*"From the Baptismal Register of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, in Boston, we learn that occasional visits were made by Rev. Drs. Matignon and Cheverus to the town of Bristol, as early as 1811 and 1812, where the children of certain French-Americans were baptised; at which time, no doubt, the few Catholic residents had Mass, and received the other consolations of their religion." — *Rev. James Fitton's Sketches of the Establishment of the Church in New England*, page 213.

outside cloak with a small cape, the fashion of those days. He spoke in a rapid tone, but distinctly, and his sermon was listened to with great attention. Bishop Cheverus spent several days in this town, during which he visited the leading families and was received with marked attention.* From the *Bristol Phoenix*.

The erection of St. Mary's Church was commenced in August, 1855; on the second Sunday of the following October the edifice was dedicated. It was a plain wooden building, with no architectural pretensions, having seating accommodations for about five hundred people. It served the parish for about fifteen years. In the year 1870 the congregation had far outgrown the accommodations of the church building, and its enlargement became absolutely necessary. Very great changes were therefore made, and its seating capacity was nearly doubled. Extensive improvements in decoration and furnishing made it one of the most beautiful of the country churches in the diocese. The cost of the changes and additions was about \$16,000, a very large sum for so poor a congregation to raise.

Sept. 4, 1870, the church was dedicated by Bishop MacFarland; the Rev. Mr. McCallion, the pastor, the Rev. Charles J. Rogers, then a deacon, and ten other clergymen taking part in the services. In his address to the congregation at that time, the bishop made use of these words: "I congratulate you, my dear children, on the accomplishment of the, for you, great work which we now see before us — the improvement of your church. At first I thought that your good pastor and yourselves had made a mistake in building your church too large; but I doubt not, after all, that it will be here as in the other missions of the diocese, ere long too small to accommodate yourselves and the influx of Catholics. The growth of our church has been exceedingly great, particularly in this diocese. Fifty years since, Catholicity was almost unknown in Rhode Island and Connecticut, the present diocese.

* Bishop Cheverus was remarkable for his humility and charitable labors. He became a cherished friend of Bishop Griswold, whom he much resembled in character. He was afterwards recalled to France and appointed Bishop of Montauban by Louis XVIII. In 1828 he was made Archbishop of Bordeaux and Peer of France, and in 1836 became a Cardinal.

There were then only three Catholic families in both states. In 1828, forty-two years ago, there was but one Catholic Church in the whole diocese. Now there are in the diocese of Hartford,* 200,000 Catholics, 100 churches, and a priest to attend to each church."

The Bristol church remained an out-mission of Warren until 1874. In that year it became an independent parish, of which the Rev. Charles J. Rogers was appointed resident pastor on the sixth day of March. That same year a residence for the priest was built on the lot next south of the church. The present value of church property is about \$30,000. St. Mary's Total Abstinence Society, founded in 1873, has attained great strength and been productive of much good in the parish. The Rev. Father Rogers was born in Philadelphia in 1842, and is a nephew of Father McCallion. He was educated at Holy Cross College, Worcester, and at St. John's College, Fordham, graduating from the latter institution in 1867. He studied theology at St. Joseph's Theological Seminary, Troy; was ordained sub-deacon by Cardinal McCloskey, deacon by Bishop Williams, of Portland, and priest by Bishop Conroy, of Albany. Dec. 17, 1870, he became his uncle's assistant in the parish of Warren and Bristol, serving as such until his appointment to the pastorate of St. Mary's Church, Bristol.

* In 1872 the Diocese of Providence was set off from the old Diocese of Hartford, and the Rev. Thomas F. Hendricken was made its bishop.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE ROLL OF HONOR.

To prepare a complete and accurate list of the names of the Bristol men who served in the Army and Navy during the late war is almost an impossibility. It is not in the nature of man to be accurate respecting names, residences, and regiments. Some of the names enrolled upon the books of the town do not appear in the *Adjutant-General's Report*. The town-books, on the other hand, contain no record of many soldiers whom the Adjutant-General of Rhode Island credits to Bristol. From these two sources only, this roll has been made out. Many names besides ought, doubtless, to appear, but no others are found upon the two sets of books. The army record is confined entirely to Rhode Island regiments. The number of his regiment is given after the soldier's name. The names of those who (according to the records of the State of Rhode Island) died in the service are printed in italics. Of the regiments here represented, the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Fourteenth, First Light Artillery, and First, Second and Third Cavalry were enlisted for three years. Most of them were reorganized at the expiration of that time; the greater portion of their men re-enlisted and were still retained in the service. The Eleventh and Twelfth regiments served for nine months. Three months was the term of service of the First, Ninth and Tenth regiments, and the First and Tenth Light Batteries. It is entirely unnecessary to specify the battles in which the different regiments were en-



AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE,
U. S. SENATOR.

gaged. In the office of the Rhode Island Secretary of State the reader may derive full information upon that subject.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, Colonel of First Regiment, May 2, 1861; Brigadier-General, Aug. 6, 1861; Major-General, March 18, 1862; Commander of the Department of North Carolina; Commander of the Ninth Army Corps; Commander of the Army of the Potomac; Commander of the Department of Ohio; resigned April 15, 1865.

John H. Adams, 4th.
George Alger, 5th.
Edward Anthony, Jr., 7th.
Jacob Babbitt, 10th, 7th. Major.
Samuel Bagnall, 12th.
John A. Balcolm, 3d.
Charles H. Ballou.
D. S. Ballou, Navy.
Albert Barnes, 1st Cavalry.
Leonard B. Barnes, 5th.
Archibald Bell, 5th.
Adams J. Bennett, 12th.
George Blackwell, 3d Cavalry.
Leonard B. Blake, 12th.
Gilbert S. Bliss, 12th.
Lewis S. Bliss, 7th.
Wm. J. Booth, 12th.
Lyman B. Bosworth, 2d.
Frank G. Bourne, 2d.
Amasa W. Bowen, 2d.
Wanton O. Bowers, Navy.
Wm. J. Bradford, 2d. Lieut. Adjt.
Wm. L. Bradford, 2d.
Isaac Brayley, 5th.
Francis T. Brightman, 5th.
John Bromley, 3d Cavalry.
John Brown, 2d.
Wm. Brown, 4th.
Charles H. Bullock, 2d.
James F. Bullock, 5th.
John S. Bullock, 3d.
Wm. H. Bullock, 2d. Lieut.
Wm. B. Burns, 2d.
George A. Bush, 2d.
Henry F. Bush, 2d.
Thomas F. Cahill, 5th.
Henry F. Card, 5th.
James T. Card, 7th.
Daniel Cavanagh.
Amos B. Chace, 2d, 1st Cavalry.
Vincent Chace, 4th.

Samuel R. Chaffee, 2d.
Stephen B. Chaffee, 7th.
Thomas D. Chaffee, 7th.
Edwin B. Church, 12th.
Wm. A. Church, 12th.
Robert Clough, 5th.
Isaac N. Cobb, 2d.
John S. Coggeshall, Battery C.
Wm. M. Coit, 2d, H. G.
George G. Cole, 2d.
Henry J. Cole, 2d.
Luther Cole, Jr., 9th, 12th. Lieut.
Samuel B. Cole, 9th.
William Collins, 7th.
Giles S. Congdon, 3d.
Henry R. Congdon, 3d.
Richmond Daggett, Navy. Act. Ensign.
Isaac Dakir, Jr.
Isaac L. Darling, 12th.
Wm. J. Darling, 12th.
John W. Dearth, 12th.
Thomas Decker, 1st Cavalry.
Joseph C. DeConques, 3d Cavalry.
James Dee, 3d Cavalry.
Thomas Dempster, Battery E.
Arthur Dennis, Battery C.
Charles H. DeWolf, 10th.
James A. DeWolf, 1st.
Jas. F. DeWolf. Capt. Com. Dept.
Wm. H. DeWolf, 1st.
Wm. H. DeWolf, Navy. Act. Master.
Wm. R. DeWolf, 14th.
George Dill, H. G.
George W. Diman, 12th.
H. H. Doty.
Charles Douglas, 1st.
George H. Douglas, 12th.
Horace F. Drake, Battery G.
James Duffee, Jr., 2d, 12th.
Thomas Duffee, 12th.

- Freeborn C. Dunbar, 12th.
 George P. Dunbar, 2d.
 John A. Dunbar, 4th.
 Robert R. Dunbar, 12th.
 Wm. F. Dunbar, 2d.
 Andrew Durfee, 5th.
 Wm. Dwyer, 12th.
 Gardner Easterbrooks, Jr., 12th.
 George Easterbrooks, Navy.
 Geo. T. Easterbrooks, 2d. Lt. Capt.
 Moses P. Easterbrooks, 2d, Navy.
 Philip Easterbrooks, 2d.
 Wm. H. Easterbrooks, 4th, 7th.
 Wm. H. Easterbrooks, II., 5th.
 Wm. W. Eddy, 10th.
 David Farnsworth, 5th.
 Robert Farnsworth, 5th.
 Eugene A. Fish, 5th.
 Rufus Fish, 1st Cavalry.
 Stephen F. Fish, 4th.
 Henry W. Fitts, 3d Cavalry.
 Thomas Fitts, 7th.
Josephus Franklin, 7th.
Charles Freeman, 14th.
 Victor Gabriel, 3d.
 Charles DeW. Gibson, Battery H.
 14th. Lieut.
 Henry C. Gifford, 4th.
 James Gifford, Navy.
Henry F. Gladding, 4th.
James H. Gladding, 7th.
 James N. Gladding, Jr., 7th.
 John A. C. Gladding, 4th.
 Nathaniel Gladding, 12th.
 James F. Goff, 12th.
 Isaac Gorham, 12th.
 William T. Gorham, 12th.
 Jeremiah I. Greene, 9th, 5th.
 Willard H. Greene, 12th.
 John Grimshaw, 5th.
 Mark A. Handy, 5th.
 William R. Handy, 2d, 4th.
 Nicholas C. Hatch, 12th.
 Solomon D. Hatch, 2d.
 Daniel Hazard, 12th.
 Nathan B. Heath, Navy. Act. Master,
 and Act. Lieut.
 John Heffernan, 12th.
 Jonathan Hilton, 5th.
Isaac H. Hoar, 3d Cavalry.
 James Hoard, Jr., 7th.
 Frank Hornung, 12th.
 Royal D. Horton, 11th.
 George Howard, 4th.
 James H. Hyde, 12th.
 George S. Ingraham, 2d.
 Dutee Johnson, 5th. Lieut.
 Peleg G. Jones, 7th.
 Frank Keating, 2d.
 John Keating, 12th.
 Robert Keating, 2d.
 Frank V. Kelley.
 Alonzo Kenney, 2d.
 Pardon T. Kenney, 12th.
 Samuel Kinder, Jr., 12th.
 William Kinder, 5th.
 George H. King, 7th, 3d Cavalry.
 Cassander Kingman, 12th.
 Cassander Kingman, Jr., 2d.
 Sanford H. Kingsley, 1st.
 Walter B. Kingsley, 1st, Navy. Mu-
 sician.
 Daniel G. Lake, 2d.
 Jonathan Lake, 5th.
 John Lawrence, 2d.
 William J. Lawton, 5th.
 George A. Leonard, 7th.
James E. Lewis, 2d.
 John P. Lindsey, 5th.
 William F. Lindsey, 5th.
 Byron D. Liscomb, 5th.
 Isaac F. Liscomb.
 Theodore Livesey, 4th.
 Edward Lowder, 2d.
 James Lowrey, 5th.
 Lorenzo V. Ludwig, 5th.
 Hiram Luther, Jr., 12th.
Jeremiah Luther, Jr., 2d.
Alex. H. Manchester, 7th.
 George B. Manchester, 12th.
 Isaac B. Manchester, 7th.
 James D. Manchester, 2d.
 Jos. S. Manchester, 2d, 7th. Lieut.
 Henry Warland, 2d.
 Barney F. Martin, 12th.
 William M. Martin, 2d.
 James Mason, Navy.
 James A. Mason, 12th.
 Jacob Mattison, H. G.
George H. Maxfield, 2d.
 George W. Maxfield, 2d.
 Caleb Mayhew, 12th.
 Charles H. V. Mayo, 1st Batt., 7th.
 Hugh McCabe, Battery H.

Richard McCartney, 12th.
 James McGee, 2d.
 John McGregor, 2d,
A. F. McIntyre, Navy.
 James McIntyre, 5th.
 Samuel McKay, 2d.
 Edward M. Meiggs, 5th.
 John R. Meiggs, 7th.
 Abraham Meyers, 4th.
 Edward B. Meyers, 1st Cavalry.
 George W. Meyers, 1st Cavalry.
 Benjamin F. Miller, 7th.
William A. Miller, 4th.
 Benjamin B. Morris, 2d.
 Joseph N. Morris, 7th.
 Owen Y. Morris, 3d Cavalry.
 Allen B. Mott, 4th.
 George F. Munro, 12th.
 Samuel Munro, Jr.
 Allen M. Munro, 2d.
 Benjamin S. Munroe, Battery A.
 Fitz E. W. Munroe, 12th.
 Francis Munroe, 7th.
 Wm. H. Munroe, 2d, 12th.
 George T. Mutton, 2d, 12th.
 Allen M. Newman, Navy. Act. Mast.
 John S. Newman, 2d.
Simeon A. Newman, 2d.
 Edward T. Nichols, 9th.
 Michael Noon, 1st, 2d.
 William H. Northup, 7th.
 Jeremiah O'Brien, 5th.
 John G. O'Connor, 2d.
 Jeremiah O'Shea, 5th.
 Charles F. Page, 7th. Lt. and Adjt.
 Alfred Peabody, 2d.
 Frederic Peabody, 2d.
 James T. Pearce, 1st, 3d.
 Walter Pearce, Navy. Act. Ensign.
 Wm. F. Pearce, 12th.
 George H. Peck, 2d, H. G.
Benjamin Peckham, 7th.
 Raymond H. Perry, Battery B. Lieut.
 3d Cavalry. Captain, Major.
 Sylvester Perry, Cavalry.
 James T. Phelps, 7th. Lieut.
Allen Pierce, 7th.
 Alonzo Pierce, 12th.
 Cornelius C. Pierce, 2d.
 George M. Pierce, 1st Cavalry.
 Henry C. Pierce, 2d.
 John Potter, 7th.

Frank T. Ramiers, 7th.
 Joseph Redfern, 5th.
 William H. Richmond, Navy. Act.
 Master.
 Gilbert Richmond, Navy. Act. Mas-
 ter.
 Lewis Richmond, Staff officer. Capt.,
 Maj., Lieut.-Col., Adjt.-Gen.
 George Ridgeway, 5th.
 John H. Robbins, 14th.
 Richard Rose, Battery E. Navy.
 Wm. Rose, Navy.
 John W. Rothwell, 1st Cavalry.
 Wm. Savage, 5th.
 Joseph A. Seymour, 7th.
 George R. Shaw, 12th.
 David Shawcross, 5th.
 Ezra H. Sherman, 7th.
 William A. Sherman, 2d.
 Robert Shippee, 2d.
 Rufus Shippee, 2d.
 William J. Shippee, 4th, 7th.
 Simon M. Sidlinger, 2d, Batt. A.
 Geo. W. Simmons, 12th.
 Henry F. Simmons, 2d. Lieut.
 Samuel C. Simmons, 12th.
 Thomas Simpkins, 5th.
 Gardner W. Sisson, 5th.
 Richard Skinner, 1st Cavalry.
 Geo. Slade, 12th.
 George F. Smith, 12th.
 Theodore H. Smith, 12th.
 Joseph B. Sparks, 2d.
 Edward W. Spencer, 12th.
 George A. Spencer, 7th.
 George W. Stetson, 12th.
 Henry L. Sutton, Battery D.
 Samuel O. Swan, Navy.
 Thomas Swan, Jr., 1st.
 Ferdinand Sweet, 4th.
 John B. Sweet, 7th.
 George H. Tence, 3d.
 William Tepper, 2d Cavalry.
 Henry Thiele, 12th.
 John A. Thompson, 2d.
 Edwin H. Tilley, 12th.
Robert Toye, 2d.
 John Turner, 12th. Adjt.
 Thomas F. Usher, 2d. Lieut.
 Thomas F. Vaughn, 1st.
 John G. Vicars, 12th.
 Alfred B. Waldron, 1st. H. G.

Charles A. Waldron, 2d. Lieut.
William H. Waldron, 1st, 12th.
James D. Wardwell, Jr., 12th.
Josiah S. Warren, 2d.
Wallace F. Warren, 2d.
George W. Weeden, 2d.
Henry M. Weeden, Battery D.
Clark Whitford, 7th.
John F. Whitford.
Moses G. Whitney, 5th.
Albert Wilkie, Navy.
George E. Wilkinson, 5th.
James F. Wilkinson, 2d.

Abel Willis, Jr., 7th.
Andrew Wilmarth, 5th.
Franklin E. Wilmarth, 5th.
Horace Wilmarth, 5th.
Joseph M. Wilmarth, 4th.
Nathan B. Wilmarth, Battery.
John G. Wilson, 2d.
John D. Wingate, 3d, Navy. Act.
Ensign.
Henry Winseman, 7th.
William Winterbottom, 3d Cavalry.
Allen G. Wright, 5th. Captain.

CHAPTER XLVI.

TRINITY CHURCH.

1875-1880.

TRINITY CHURCH, Bristol, owes its existence mainly to the pious beneficence of a former communicant of St. Michael's Church, Mrs. Ruth B. DeWolf. Mrs. DeWolf died in 1874. In her will she directed that the greater part of a very considerable estate should be given to the parish "next and first organized according to the usages, principles, and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and the Diocese of Rhode Island." One condition of the gift was, that the pews or seats of the church edifice which might be erected, should not be sold or rented for a longer time than one year, the wish of the testator being that the church might be "maintained as nearly as possible on the 'Free Seat' system;" another was, that the parish should be organized and admitted to the Convention of the diocese before any real estate should be conveyed to it.

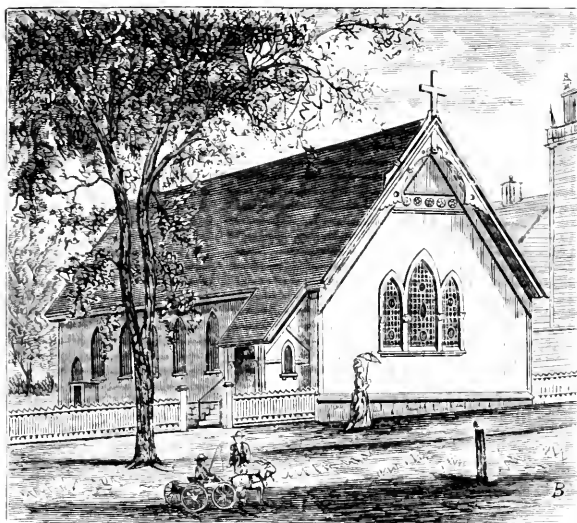
Feb. 16, 1875, a meeting was held for the purpose of organizing a parish which should acquire possession of the property thus devised. A constitution and by-laws having been adopted, and parish officers chosen, a committee was appointed to acquaint the bishop of the diocese with what had been done, and to request him to bring the matter before the Standing Committee. Measures were also taken to procure a charter for the parish from the General Assembly. April 7, 1875, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of

Rhode Island, it was "*Voted*, That the Standing Committee give their consent to the organization of Trinity Church, Bristol, whenever the vestry of the proposed parish shall make such provision for the security of the property from which, by the will of Mrs. DeWolf, they are to derive benefit, as shall be satisfactory to the trustees therein named, and shall be so certified by the trustees to the Secretary of the Standing Committee." The necessary provisions were quickly made, and at a meeting of the wardens and vestry of the parish, held April 27, 1875, a letter from the bishop was read, in which "acting in accordance with the advice and consent of the Standing Committee," he consented to the organization of the church.

The first service was held on Whitsun-day, 1875, in the "Odd Fellows Hall" on Bradford Street, the Rev. Dr. Henry Waterman, formerly rector of St. Stephen's Church, Providence, being the officiating clergyman. The first officers of the parish, elected after the charter was obtained, were: *Wardens* — Henry C. Sayles and Robert F. Tiernan; *Vestrymen* — LeBaron Bradford, Ellery W. Greene, Edward M. Spooner, William D. Skinner, Robert Murray, Robert Lawder, Edward A. Blake, Thomas Henderson, and John P. Reynolds. No rector was chosen during the first two years, but services were regularly held each Sunday by several clergymen.

In 1876 the church was admitted into union with the Convention of the diocese. In the fall of that year, the Rev. Samuel Moran, a native of Providence, and graduate of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, took the charge of the parish, and on Easter Monday, 1877, was elected its first rector. In June, 1876, upon the lot at the northeast corner of Bradford and Hope streets, where Mrs. DeWolf had lived, the corner-stone of a church was laid, but the building was not really begun until All Saints' Day, 1877. In 1878 the edifice was completed. It is a wooden structure, 90 feet by 38, furnished tastefully and in churchly style, and has seating accommodations for 350 people.

Mr. Moran resigned the rectorship in 1878, and in 1879



Trinity Church

the Rev. Joseph H. Johnson was elected his successor. Mr. Johnson is a native of Schenectady, N. Y., a graduate of Williams College (Class of 1870), and of the General Theological Seminary. From the time of his ordination to the ministry until his coming to Bristol, he held the charge of Holy Trinity Church, Highland, N. Y. The church numbers 102 communicants and is in a very flourishing condition. An excellent boy-choir adds much to the attractiveness of its services. Its officers are: *Wardens* — John P. Reynolds and H. Frank Munroe. *Vestrymen* — Henry C. Sayles, Henry F. Card, J. Russell Bullock, Charles V. Perry, William R. Trotter, Thomas G. Holmes, John H. H. Mott, William F. Williams, and Darwin Almy.

CHAPTER XLVII.

SOME DETAILS RESPECTING THE COMMERCE.

THE reader possibly imagines that definite and accurate information respecting the commerce of Bristol may easily be obtained from the official books. This is by no means the case. The official records are almost entirely inaccessible, completely so to one whose time for examining them is limited to a few short months. Until the year 1801 Bristol was included in the Newport Customs District. To that city, therefore, one must go for the facts desired. In the loft of its Custom House the enthusiastic inquirer is pointed to a huge pile of boxes and told that there is the information he seeks. The boxes are not marked, and no memorandum of their contents has been preserved. Only by a most careful examination of each one could the wished for information be obtained. Though the courteous official obligingly places the loft at your disposal, the shrinking spirit recoils in dismay from the undertaking. After the Revolutionary War, and before Rhode Island became a member of the American Union, a large amount of interesting matter was embalmed in the books of the General Treasurer. The reader is respectfully referred to a number of old-fashioned trunks, in the loft of one of the buildings rented by the State in the city of Providence, for information concerning that period in the town's commercial history. Before the Bristol Custom House was built, the zealous attention of some former Collector secured the preservation of such papers and books as the flames of a private house had not already devoured, by packing them in

various boxes, etc., and bestowing them in a loft upon Thames Street. There they still remain. In the Custom House only the invoice books are preserved, and in them the cargoes discharged at Warren are not particularly designated. The information given in this chapter must, therefore, be general rather than specific.

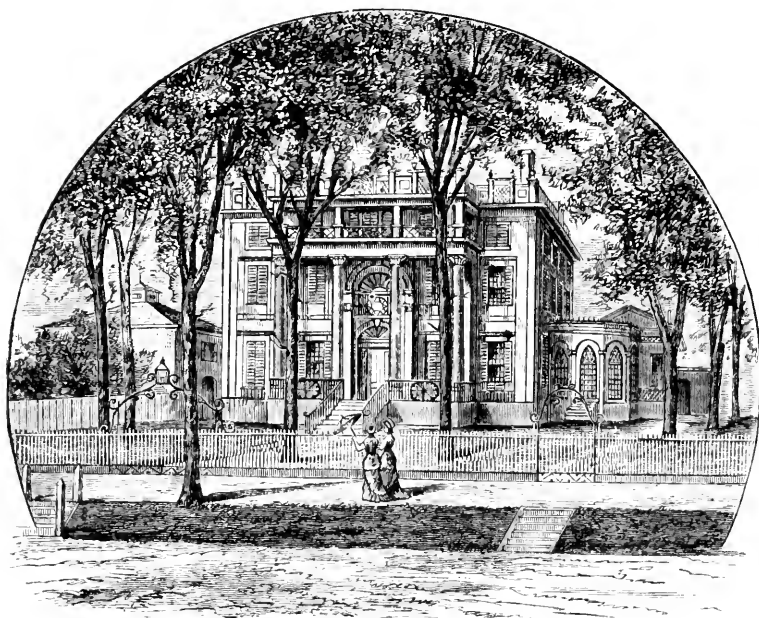
Very soon after its settlement Bristol began to engage in commerce with the West Indies and the Spanish Main. Mention of the first recorded shipment has already been made on page 111. Many such followed it before the year 1700 was reached. In 1690 fifteen vessels engaged in foreign commerce were owned by Bristol citizens. The number gradually and steadily increased until, just before the Revolution, the name of the town was borne upon the sterns of fifty vessels. They were usually of small size, and very many of them were sloops. It was the age of little vessels, and these sloops were more frequently sent upon voyages to Europe and the coast of Africa, than our largest schooners are now employed for the same service. We look back with amazement upon men who were willing to expose their lives to the ocean-storms on board such feeble shallops, but those very men might possibly deem it foolhardy to brave a hurricane in the unwieldy vessels in which the nineteenth century delights.

Various kinds of produce, pickled fish, horses, sheep, etc., made up the cargo upon the outward voyage. Coffee, molasses, sugar, rum, and tropical fruits were brought back. In 1691, Deacon Bosworth shipped on board the sloop "Dolphin," 540 ropes of onions, which had been raised upon his farm. The cultivation of this vegetable was for years one of the chief industries of the town; as many as 100,000 bushels having sometimes been sent to market in the course of a year.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, and until the Revolution, considerable capital was invested in the whale fishery, though the business was conducted upon a plan very different from that which was followed a hundred years later. In the early days of the colonies whales sometimes entered Narragansett Bay, and almost all of them were taken by

means of the "shore fisheries," *i. e.*, the boats would be sent out from the shore in pursuit, whenever a "school" came in sight. Sloops and little schooners were afterward placed in the business. In 1775, perhaps fifty whaling vessels were sent out from Rhode Island ports. Some of these were of course owned in Bristol, but how many cannot be ascertained. Upon the town records of that period, mention of "whaleboats" is very common. The war with Great Britain broke up the fisheries, and when peace came the whales were no longer found near the coast, having gone to other feeding-grounds. In 1795, the only whaler in the State was the "Ranger," a brig (or *snow*, the term brig was then frequently applied to snow-rigged vessels), of 122 tons. It was owned in Providence. Very few whaling vessels besides were employed in the country, and Massachusetts owned them all.

In 1801, the Bristol Customs District was set off from the Newport District, and Jonathan Russell was appointed its first Collector. Until the beginning of the present century the firm of Bourne & Wardwell had been most prominently identified with the commerce of the town. At one time they are said to have owned forty-two vessels. The first cargo entered upon the invoice book of the new district was that of the schooner "Isaac," John Weir, master, from Port Antonio, Jamaica. She was consigned to the master, and John W. Bourne; brought 9,334 gallons of 3d and 4th proof rum, and six hogsheads of sugar, and paid \$3,464.23 duty. During the first twenty-five years, 1,262 foreign arrivals, an average of fifty each year, were entered upon the books. The largest number entered in any one year was ninety-six, in 1810; the smallest was nineteen, in 1814—the worst year of the last war with Great Britain. The sum total of duties paid during that period was \$2,369,424.33, an average of \$94,776.97 each year. In 1813 the largest amount was paid into the Treasury, \$152,966.04 (the cargo of the "Francis," prize to the "Yankee," was chargeable with a goodly portion of that sum); in 1801 was paid



Residence of Mr. Samuel P. Colt.

the smallest amount, \$29,375.10. Very few cities in the Union could present such a record, though the population of the town during those years never exceeded 3,200. Some of the vessels entered each year discharged their cargoes in Warren, but the share of that town in that great business was comparatively small. Its greatest ventures upon the ocean were made in after years in the whale fishery.

The ship "Juno" brought into the harbor in 1804 the first cargo imported directly from China. Voyages to the "North-west Coast" naturally followed the trade with the "Celestial Empire." A large and profitable business was also established with the ports of both Northern and Southern Europe. The West Indian business was not neglected. An extensive trade with the coast of Africa was also maintained.

The following table shows the amount of duties collected

each year from 1801 to 1825 inclusive, and the number of vessels arriving from foreign ports :—

1801 .. 23 .. \$ 29,375 10	1810 .. 96 .. \$152,380 92	1819 .. 69 .. \$126,437 87
1802 .. 41 .. 32,805 40	1811 .. 89 .. 109,181 78	1820 .. 50 .. 121,570 40
1803 .. 48 .. 41,989 15	1812 .. 55 .. 100,137 61	1821 .. 44 .. 137,275 06
1804 .. 56 .. 82,531 28	1813 .. 30 .. 152,966 04	1822 .. 48 .. 95,561 42
1805 .. 56 .. 94,301 86	1814 .. 19 .. 72,468 42	1823 .. 47 .. 95,424 71
1806 .. 61 .. 118,964 89	1815 .. 33 .. 120,693 53	1824 .. 53 .. 111,116 64
1807 .. 43 .. 61,743 23	1816 .. 48 .. 78,543 97	1825 .. 42 .. 98,821 73
1808 .. 48 .. 91,349 95	1817 .. 53 .. 74,095 28	
1809 .. 42 .. 66,022 40	1818 .. 68 .. 103,665 69	

When we reflect that a corresponding number of coasting vessels were also employed,—a number much greater, it must be remembered, in those pre-railroad days than would now be needed,—some idea of the busy harbor of those years can easily be formed.

The name of DeWolf is most frequently seen upon the Custom House books of that period. James DeWolf was the leading merchant of the town; William DeWolf, Charles DeWolf, and George DeWolf, each carried on a widely extended business. The erection of the houses of James DeWolf at "the Mount," William DeWolf upon Poppasquash, and George DeWolf* upon Hope Street, marked the success that attended their commercial enterprises. At one time George DeWolf seemed destined to surpass his uncle, James, in wealth, but reverses came, and swept away his fortune. His failure almost paralyzed the town.

After the year 1825 the commerce of the port began slowly, though steadily, to decline. The renewal of the whale fishery had much to do with this. About that time the first ship was fitted out to start upon a whaling voyage. It made a very successful cruise, and others were at once placed in the business. In 1837 the arrival of sixteen vessels "from a whaling cruise," is recorded. Perhaps half of these belonged in Warren. The Bristol whaling fleet that year numbered nineteen vessels. This is the list given in the Bristol *Phoenix*:—

* Now owned and occupied by his grandson, Mr. S. P. Colt.

Ganges.....	380	Roger Williams.....	285	Sarah Lee.....	236
Milton.....	388	Leonidas.....	353	Golconda.....	360
Gen. Jackson.....	329	Balance.....	322	Troy.....	156
America.....	258	Essex.....	201	Metacom.....	—
Bowditch.....	399	L. C. Richmond....	341		
Canton Packet.....	312	Gov. Fenner.....	376		5,896
Corinthian.....	503	Fama.....	363		
Anne.....	223	Gov. Hopkins.....	111		

The business began to decline before the discovery of gold in California, but the gold fever gave it its death-blow. Many of the old merchant vessels that had been converted into whale-ships took a cargo of gold-hunters safely around Cape Horn, and were then suffered to go to pieces upon the shoals of the "Back Bay," near San Francisco.*

The West India business ceased when the firm of A. T. & T. J. Usher was dissolved in 1873. At present the town has no foreign commerce. Its capital is almost entirely invested in manufactures. It has still a small coasting fleet. Twenty-seven vessels, ten steamers, and seventeen sailing craft hail from the port. They are mostly of very light tonnage. Only two of the steamers are over 100 tons burden. The largest vessel is the three-masted schooner Charles S. Bayliss, of 466.95 tons. The accompanying table, showing the tonnage, enrolled and licensed, of the Bristol district, from 1816 to 1861, was furnished from the office of the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington. How much of this amount of shipping was owned in Bristol cannot well be ascertained. It will, perhaps, be safe to assume, that up to the year 1840, two-thirds of the vessels of the district hailed from this port; and that after that year one-half of the aggregate amount of tonnage should be charged to Warren.

* In 1871 the writer saw upon the "Back Bay Lands," peering out from the sand that had been heaped around, the slowly decaying timbers of an old ship, with Bristol, R. I., faintly visible upon her stern.

Date Year.	Registered Ton.	Enrolled and Licensed Ton.	Aggregate of Dist.	Date Year.	Registered Ton.	Enrolled and Licensed Ton.	Aggregate of Dist.
1816	5,874.16	1,008.86	6,909.33	1840	8,893.58	6,996.52	15,840.15
1817	6,388.40	4,285.63	7,763.22	1841	8,191.53	4,737.67	12,929.25
1818	7,607.21	1,089.03	8,759.67	1842	9,043.58	4,457.80	13,501.43
1819	7,650.12	1,322.22	10,290.11	1843	10,746.16	3,029.36	13,775.52
1820	6,610.64	1,366.21	8,036.32	1844	12,454.82	2,482.14	14,937.00
1821	7,034.12	1,804.06	8,890.00	1845	11,163.01	2,541.71	13,704.72
1822	6,717.20	1,535.15	8,340.67	1846	13,705.67	2,419.09	16,124.76
1823	6,877.81	866.90	7,771.11	1847	12,617.08	2,437.75	15,087.88
1824	7,068.03	995.46	8,011.62	1848	12,715.75	2,356.67	15,072.47
1825	6,500.89	1,882.64	8,883.58	1849	13,070.36	2,487.50	15,557.80
1826	6,598.77	2,612.03	9,210.80	1850	11,247.12	1,951.27	13,198.39
1827	7,604.24	2,841.64	10,513.08	1851	10,229.39	1,948.24	12,177.63
1828	8,330.85	3,259.10	11,590.00	1852	11,464.26	2,162.44	13,626.70
1829	8,228.42	2,968.05	13,284.00	1853	10,467.56	2,379.89	12,847.50
1830	6,654.84	1,431.83	8,086.72	1854	12,642.76	1,960.55	14,603.30
1831	7,167.68	2,200.48	9,368.21	1855	14,572.13	1,922.03	16,499.16
1832	10,747.75	2,131.69	12,879.45	1856	15,282.58	1,668.77	16,951.40
1833	13,318.47	3,071.48	16,390.00	1857	13,431.56	1,721.02	15,152.58
1835	13,850.38	3,160.23	17,010.61	1858	14,394.43	1,375.27	15,769.70
1836	14,960.78	2,716.59	17,677.42	1859	14,068.59	1,443.61	15,512.25
1837	13,901.84	2,725.41	16,276.29	1860	8,399.02	1,374.34	9,773.36
1838	13,134.70	3,212.42	16,347.17	1861	6,008.28	1,197.22	7,205.50
1839	10,301.68	5,121.35	15,422.08				

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURES.

MENTION has already been made of the earlier manufacturing industries of the town, the grist-mills, distilleries, ropewalks, etc.; the ship-building interests were also important in early history and should have been noticed in their proper place. In 1696 were built the first two vessels of which we have any record. They were the "Grampus" and the "Dolphin." Like all the vessels of that period they were of very light tonnage. From that time forward, for more than a century, ships were built from time to time as the trade of the port required, but the business did not become very brisk until about fifty years ago. From 1830 to 1856 perhaps sixty vessels were built and rigged at this port. The figures preserved by the United States Treasury Department make the number rather larger than that, but ships built in other towns were probably included in the official returns. After 1856 no vessels were constructed until the Herreshoffs began to build yachts and sail-boats in 1863. In ten years about two hundred decked vessels of various sizes were launched from their yard. Then the character of their business was changed; since 1873 they have built steamers only. They are now building "Steamer Number 73." The firm is styled the Herreshoff Manufacturing Company. The manufacture of the "Safety Coil Boiler" is one of its specialties. Some of its steam-vessels have attained a speed of 22 7-8 miles an hour.

Oil works and candle factories naturally followed investments in whaling vessels. The first of these establishments began operations in 1830, or thereabouts; others quickly followed it. The business was continued for a little more than thirty years.

In 1836 the first cotton mill was erected. It was owned by the Bristol Steam Mill Company, and proved a very profitable investment. In 1843 the factory was burned, but was at once rebuilt and in 1844 was again in operation. It has passed through various hands, and is now known as the Namquit Mill. The Richmond Manufacturing Company are its owners. The Pokanoket Mill, erected in 1839, is owned by the same company. In the two mills are 21,152 spindles and 484 looms. These two mills in 1875, when the last State census was taken, reported 1,917,335 yards of print-cloth and 2,200,000 yards of sheetings as the amount of their product for that year.

A company for manufacturing butts, hinges, and iron castings was formed in 1844. A factory was erected upon Thames Street, and the business was prosecuted with varied success until 1852, when the buildings were burned and were not replaced.

About the year 1847 a large steam saw and planing mill was built upon the lot next south of the Pokanoket Mill, and a very extensive business was carried on for several years. The building was twice burned, once in 1857, and again in 1861. It was rebuilt after the second fire, but soon afterwards ceased to be profitable, and was devoted to other uses.

The Sugar Refinery commenced operations in 1849, and passed through the hands of several sets of owners with indifferent success until the late war broke out. Then sugar refining became very profitable, and continued to be so for many years. The factory is now owned by the Phenix Sugar Refining Co., but the refinery has been for a long time idle. It has a producing capacity of 350 barrels of sugar per day, and once furnished employment for 225 men. (The great



1860

Wolcott & Co. Boston.
Wolcott & Co. Boston.
Wolcott & Co. Boston.

buildings may be seen in the cut of Captain Collins' house on page 129.)

In the building now used as a machine-shop by the Herreshoff Manufacturing Company, the manufacture of breech-loading fire-arms was carried on for about four years by General Burnside. Complications then arose, and the works were closed in 1857. About the same time a manufactory of oakum was operated upon Franklin Street. In 1858 a fire consumed the buildings and closed up the business.

The erection of the buildings of the National Rubber Company was begun in 1864. In 1865 the machinery of the factory was set in motion. The various buildings, etc., cover about six acres of ground. Upwards of twelve hundred operatives are employed. All kinds of rubber goods are manufactured, but special attention is paid to the manufacture of boots and shoes. From five to six thousand pairs of these are made each day. The number can easily be doubled when necessity requires it. The monthly pay-roll of the company amounts to about \$35,000. The value of its annual product is very nearly \$2,000,000.

These are the principal manufactures. According to the statistics of the last census (1875), there were in the town sixty-one manufacturing establishments. They employed eleven steam engines of 840 horse power, and forty-two steam boilers. The number of hands employed was 1,488. The sum paid for wages during 1875 was \$562,177; the value of materials used was \$1,763,574, and \$2,976,600 was the value of the manufactured product.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

GLEANINGS FROM THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.

To a description of the events which have marked the history of the town during the last fifty years, many pages might easily be devoted, and yet, after all, very little demands a record here. Many men who were themselves a part of the times can still be consulted, if precise and accurate information is desired: the files of the *Bristol Phoenix* also cover most of the period, and are especially rich in local information. From the *Phoenix* and the *Providence Journal*, a very truthful picture of the age might easily be drawn.

When, in 1842, the State was convulsed by the contest concerning the suffrage, Thomas W. Dorr found but few adherents in this town. Its citizens rallied strongly to the side of the "Law and Order" party, and sent very nearly two hundred and fifty men to swell its ranks at Chepachet. The "Dorr War" is too recent an event to require discussion at this time. When the adoption of the new Constitution was voted upon by the people of the State, the vote of Bristol was: "For the Constitution, 341; against it, None."

Nathaniel Bullock was elected lieutenant-governor of the State by the "Law and Order" party in 1842. He held the office for one year. The following sketch of his life is from the volume of Rhode Island biography about to be published by the National Biographical Publishing Co. Through the courtesy of Mr. J. H. Cheever, Treasurer of the Company, it is here inserted:—

"Bullock, Hon. Nathaniel, Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island from 1842 to 1843, son of Samuel and Silence (Bowen) Bullock, was born in Rehoboth, Mass., May 1, 1779. He was fitted for college, by Rev. Charles Thompson, pastor of the Baptist Church in Swansea, and teacher of a classical school. He was a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1798. Immediately after his graduation he went South, and was for some time engaged in teaching in Charleston, S. C. During his spare hours he devoted himself to the study of law. In the early part of 1801 he returned to his native State, and soon after went to Bristol, R. I., and became a law student in the office of Hon. Benjamin Bourne. He was admitted to the bar of Rhode Island in that year, and commenced the practice of his profession in Newport, in partnership with Hon. William Hunter. In the latter part of 1808, he returned to Bristol, the death of two eminent lawyers of that place, Judge Bourne and Governor Bradford, preparing the way for his professional services there. He represented Bristol in the General Assembly every year, with the exception of three, from 1815 to 1827. In the year last mentioned, he was appointed by President Adams Collector of Customs for the District of Warren and Bristol, and held that office until August, 1836, when he resigned. In 1838, he was the Democratic candidate for Governor, and failed of an election by a few votes. His name was placed on the 'Law and Order' ticket in 1842, and he was chosen Lieutenant-Governor of the State. At the time of his death, he was the oldest member of the Rhode Island bar. 'In soundness of judgment, in knowledge of his profession, in integrity of character, and in genial and kindly social qualities, he was the peer of the distinguished men with whom he was so long associated, and whom he so long survived.' The closing years of his life were spent in the quiet of his home, where he delighted to commune with the best authors, and where, especially, he took pleasure in the study of the Sacred Scriptures. He married, in September, 1812, Ruth, daughter of Stephen Smith, a merchant in Bristol, who died in November, 1829. Mr. Bullock died at Bristol, Nov. 13, 1867, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. His three sons and a daughter survive him."

Governor Bullock was followed in office, as he had also been immediately preceded, by Byron Diman. Mr. Diman was re-elected to the lieutenant-governor's office each year until 1846, when he was chosen governor. Of him Mr. Cheever also furnishes the following sketch : —

"Diman, Ex-Governor Byron, eldest son of Jeremiah and Hannah (Luther) Diman, was born in Bristol, R. I., Aug. 5, 1795. In his youth he enjoyed the advantages of an excellent private school kept for many years by the late Bishop Griswold. Here, according to the testimony of one of his classmates, the venerable Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, he held the first place, his devotion to study creating a tie between teacher and pupil which was only dissolved by death. The literary tastes thus

early formed were cherished and developed. Up to a late period in his life, he was a diligent reader, and few men not belonging to the class of professed students possessed more varied and accurate information. He was well versed in English literature and general history, and especially at home in topographical and antiquarian lore. At an early age he entered the counting-house of Hon. James DeWolf, and continued in the most confidential relations with that gentleman until his death, in 1837. He engaged in the whale fishery, which at one time was largely prosecuted at Bristol. In various other ways he was closely identified with the business interests of that town. He was at one time treasurer, and afterward president of the Bristol Steam Mill; a director of the Pokanoket Mill; and for many years president of the Bank of Bristol. In all his business relations he was actuated by the most generous and forbearing spirit. The distressed applied instinctively to him for aid, and seldom were they refused. Mr. Diman was early and actively engaged in politics. He was an enthusiastic Whig of the school of Henry Clay. For many years he was a member of the Legislature. He was a delegate to the Harrisburg Convention, which nominated General Harrison for the Presidency. During the exciting days of the 'Dorr war,' he was a member of the Governor's Council. When the new Constitution was adopted, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1846, at the disruption of the 'Law and Order' party, he was elected Governor. No persuasion could induce him to hold the office longer than a year, and he was deaf to all solicitations to accept a higher position, even that of United States Senator. The only official connection that he retained with the State was as commissioner of the indigent blind, deaf and dumb. To the duties of this office he gave great attention. He issued the call for the first meeting held in Bristol for the organization of the Republican party, and he gave to the policy of President Lincoln a cordial and unhesitating support. He died of apoplexy, at his residence in Bristol, Aug. 1, 1865. A fine portrait of him by Lincoln graces the chamber of the State House in Providence. Governor Diman was twice married; first, to Abby Alden Wight, daughter of Rev. Henry Wight, D. D. By this marriage there were four children, among whom were J. L. and H. W. Diman, both of whom graduated at Brown University. His second wife was Elizabeth Ann Liscomb, the issue of this marriage being one child, who survives him."

A native of Bristol again filled the gubernatorial chair in 1858. In that year Gov. Philip Allen resigned, to accept the office of United States Senator, and Lieut.-Gov. Francis M. Dimond succeeded to the post thus made vacant. A strangely picturesque career was that of Mr. Dimond. He was born in Bristol in 1796, and here, at the age of sixty-three, he died, but comparatively few of the years of his life were spent in this town. Very early in life he went to the

Island of Cuba, and there spent several years; for a time he was United States Consul at Port-au-Prince. He lived some years in New Orleans, and before the Mexican War, was Consul of the United States at Vera Cruz, Mexico. During the war his local knowledge proved exceedingly valuable to the United States Government. When the expedition against Vera Cruz was planned, he was summoned to Washington, where his accurate memory quickly supplied the greatly needed chart of the Mexican harbor. Sailing from Havana, that he might be present at the storming of the city, he was shipwrecked upon the way; for two days and nights he was tossed about in an open boat, and only reached Vera Cruz on the day after its bombardment. He nevertheless entered the city with the American army, and served as its official interpreter. Until the American troops were withdrawn, he was the Collector of the captured city. He was lieutenant-governor and governor for one year. His after life was mainly spent in efforts to secure the construction of the Southern Pacific Railway. Of this railway company he was elected president. He died in Bristol, in 1858.

Ex-Lieutenant-Governor and ex-Judge J. Russell Bullock still resides in this, his native town.

Until the year 1830 communication with Providence was maintained by means of packet sloops and stage-coaches; in that year the packets found their occupation gone, for a line of steamboats plying between Fall River and Providence, and stopping at Bristol on each trip, was established. Twenty-seven years later, the picturesque stage-coaches were forced into retirement, the Providence, Warren and Bristol Railroad having begun to run its trains in 1857. For several years a line of steamers, running to New York City, made this their eastern port of departure, but in 1869 they were transferred to Fall River.

For many years the possession of a certain tract of land near the Warren boundary line was a fruitful source of contention between the two towns, and numerous petitions concerning the matter were presented for the consideration of



The Rogers Free Library.

the General Assembly. The petitioners had uniformly received "leave to withdraw" until 1873, but the Legislature of that year lent a favorable ear to their request, and Bristol awoke only to find that it had lost forever a goodly portion of its patrimonial estate.

In the year 1814 a young man 22 years of age, Robert Rogers, of Newport, came from that then less important commercial town to engage in the extended foreign commerce that was bringing such wealth into Bristol. He married a daughter of Mr. William DeWolf, and soon after formed a business connection with his father-in-law. For years he was one of the most prominent merchants of Bristol, and before his death he had become its wealthiest citizen. During his life he frequently declared his intention of giving a library to his adopted town. After his death his widow found certain memoranda upon the subject among his papers, and at once determined to carry into effect her husband's plans. The result is the beautiful building upon Hope Street—the Rogers Free Library. The building was dedicated in 1878, Prof. J. Lewis Diman, of Brown University, delivering

the dedicatory address. It was built at a cost of about \$20,000, and, with a valuable collection of books that had formed a part of her husband's library, was presented to the town of Bristol by Mrs. Rogers in that same year. A portion of the second story only is used by the library. The Young Men's Christian Association occupy one room, their library having been merged in the free library. The lower floor is occupied by two banks, and the rent paid by these institutions is used to defray the running expenses of the library.

The following is taken from the quarto *History of Rhode Island* :—

"*The Press of Bristol.* The first newspaper printed and published in Bristol was started in January, 1807, and was entitled the '*Mount Hope Eagle*.' It was published by the late Capt. Golden Dearth, and the late D. A. Leonard was editor, and also postmaster. It was in existence but one year. The printing office was located in a building which stood on the same site now occupied by the '*Bristol Phoenix*.' The '*Bristol Gazette*' was started in September, 1833, by Bennett J. Munro, Esq., as editor and publisher, and the late W. H. S. Bayley as printer. In the January following, Mr. Bayley purchased the entire establishment, and became publisher and editor. The '*Gazette*' was published for four years, and then was discontinued. After the lapse of a few weeks, the '*Bristol Phoenix*' was published from the same office by Mr. Bayley, who continued its publication until his death, in March, 1862. The establishment was subsequently purchased by C. A. Greene, who is the present editor and proprietor. The '*Phoenix*' is issued every Saturday morning; is a thirty-two column paper, and contains each week an interesting story, good miscellaneous selections, general intelligence, and full reports of local news. In January, 1878, the '*Phoenix*' entered upon its forty-second volume. In May, 1840, a small newspaper, entitled '*The Bristol Eagle*,' was published by Mr. Greene, the present editor of the '*Phoenix*,' and T. Rutherford. It was continued only for one year."

"The South Christian Church (Baptist) was organized in 1833, and services were held at first in the Court House, then in a hall over a store. In 1834 they erected, at a cost of about \$3,600, a house of worship on High Street (corner of Constitution), with fourteen members. The first pastor was Harvey Sullings; Zalmon Tobey, G. F. Sanborn, Hezekiah Burnham, George W. Kilton, David Knowlton, J. J. Lawskee, Stephen Fellows, S. K. Sweetman, J. S. Jones, and William Miller succeeded him."

The society was dissolved a few years ago; its house of worship has lately been sold to the "Odd Fellows."

"The Second Advent Society was organized in 1843, with about twenty-five members. Its first meetings were held in private houses, subsequently in a public hall on State Street. O. R. Fassett was the first regularly installed pastor. About this time their meetings were held in the Court House, and some time after the society divided. One party built a church on State Street, where they continued to hold meetings for several years. At present, meetings are held in a church on High Street."

The society has no settled pastor.

On Friday, Sept. 24, 1880, the town celebrated its Bi-Centennial Anniversary. As a full account of the proceedings is about to be published in pamphlet form, only a brief mention of the programme observed is needed here. The management of the celebration was placed in charge of a large committee, who performed their duties with great ability and success. On the night of Thursday, almost all of the dwellings in the compact part of the town were brilliantly illuminated. Until a late hour the streets were crowded with throngs of citizens and strangers, passing on in orderly procession to view the varied decorations. No disturbances occurred to mar the enjoyment of the occasion, either on Thursday or Friday, and the beautiful September weather seemed to have reserved its choicest smiles to grace the festival of the pleasant old town. Through the week a very interesting collection of portraits and ancient relics was on exhibition at the Town Hall, under the efficient management of Mr. John DeWolf. In the morning of Friday a long procession was formed upon High Street, under the direction of Mr. Samuel P. Colt, Chief Marshal of the day. Through the principal streets of the town it marched, and was at last dismissed upon the Common, near the tent where the literary exercises were to be held. The Chaplain of the day, Rev. George L. Locke, of St. Michael's Church, opened the services with prayer. Mr. LeBaron B. Colt, President of the Bi-Centennial Committee, followed with a brief address of welcome. The historical address was delivered by the Rev. Professor J. Lewis Diman, D. D., of Brown University; the poem was read by the Rt. Rev. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, D. D., Bishop of Central Pennsylvania. (Both the orator and poet were natives of the

town.) The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. William V. Morrison, D. D., of the Methodist Church. The exercises were interspersed with singing by a choir of children from the public schools, and by music from the Boston Cadet Band.

After the literary exercises were concluded, dinner was served to the visiting sons and daughters in an adjoining tent. After-dinner speeches were made by Gov. Alfred H. Littlefield, representing the State of Rhode Island; Col. Thomas W. Higginson, of the staff of Governor Long, representing the State of Massachusetts; and Mr. William J. Miller, representing the town of Bristol. Hon. Henry B. Anthony, of the U. S. Senate; Ex-Gov. Charles C. Van Zandt; Bishop Howe, of Central Pennsylvania; President E. G. Robinson, of Brown University, and President Zachariah Allen, of the Rhode Island Historical Society, also spoke. United States Senator Ambrose E. Burnside, a resident of Bristol, was the toast-master. The planting of four trees upon the Common, to commemorate the four founders of the town, terminated the exercises of the afternoon. The tree-planting exercises were under the charge of Mr. Edward S. Babbitt, who introduced the several speakers with appropriate remarks. The tree planted to the memory of Nathaniel Oliver was dedicated by one of his descendants, Mayor Henry K. Oliver, of Salem, Mass. At the Stephen Burton tree, Mr. Wilfred H. Munro, of Bristol, spoke. Mr. William J. Miller, of Bristol, was the representative of John Walley; and Francis Brinley, Esq., of Newport, was chosen to deliver the address commemorating his ancestor, Nathaniel Byfield. The Byfield tree was an oak, the other three were elms; they were planted in a square not far from the centre of the Common. A promenade concert in the evening, in the large dining-tent, closed the public observance of the celebration.

CHAPTER L.

THE ROLL OF REPRESENTATIVES.

In this roll the names of Bristol citizens who were members of the Governor's Council in Massachusetts, or of the Council or Senate of Rhode Island, prior to 1843, are not given. The names of John Walley, Nathaniel Byfield, John Saffin and others, would appear in the Massachusetts records; those of Simeon Potter, John DeWolf, William Reynolds, William DeWolf, William Pearse, Byron Diman and others, would be found in the records of Rhode Island. But it would be impossible to make the list complete, as the residences of the members of the Council and Senate do not appear upon the official books.

In the General Court of Plymouth Colony.

1682-3. Benjamin Church.	Jabez Howland.
1684. Benjamin Church.	John Rogers.
John Walley.	John Saffin.
1685-6. Stephen Burton.	1690. Stephen Burton.
John Rogers.	Jabez Howland.
1686-7-8-9. Administration of Sir Edmund Andros, no Representatives chosen.	1691. John Saffin.
1689. Nathaniel Byfield.	William Throope.
Stephen Burton.	1692. Plymouth Colony joined to Massachusetts.

In the General Court of Massachusetts.

1692. John Saffin.	1711-15. Simon Davis.
Stephen Burton.	1716-17. Samuel Gallop.
1693. Nathaniel Byfield. (Speaker.)	1718-20. William Throope.
1694. Nathaniel Byfield.	1721. William Throope.
John Cary.	Simon Davis.
1695. John Rogers.	1722. Samuel Little.
1696. Ebenezer Brenton.	1723. William Throope.
1697. Jabez Howland.	1724-26. Nathaniel Paine.
1698-1702. Ebenezer Brenton.	1727. Nathaniel Paine.
1703. Nathaniel Blagrove.	Samuel Little.
1704. Simon Davis.	1728-9. Nathaniel Paine.
1705-10. Nathaniel Blagrove.	1730-36. Charles Church.

1737-40. Stephen Paine.
 1741. Stephen Paine.
 Thomas Greene.
 1742. Stephen Paine.
 1743. Charles Church.

1744-5. Stephen Paine.
 1746. Charles Church.
 Bristol annexed to Rhode Island Jan-
 uary 27, 1746-7.

In the General Assembly of Rhode Island.

1747. Jonathan Peck.
 Nathaniel Bosworth.
 Thomas Greene.
 1748-9. Jonathan Peck.
 Thomas Greene.
 1750. Jonathan Peck.
 Thomas Greene.
 Shearjashub Bourne.
 1751. Jonathan Peck.
 Joseph Russell.
 1752. Jonathan Peck.
 Simeon Potter.
 Simon Davis.
 1753. Joseph Russell.
 Simon Davis.
 1754. Joseph Russell.
 Thomas Greene.
 1755. Joseph Russell.
 Shearjashub Bourne.
 1756. Thomas Greene.
 Nathaniel Fales.
 1757. Simeon Potter.
 William Pearse.
 1758. Joseph Russell.
 William Pearse.
 1759. Joseph Russell.
 Simon Davis.
 1760. Simon Davis.
 Joseph Reynolds.
 1761. Simeon Potter.
 William Bradford.
 Daniel Bradford.
 1762. William Bradford.
 Daniel Bradford.
 1763. William Bradford.
 Simeon Potter.
 1764. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Simeon Potter.
 1765-6. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Nathaniel Pearse.
 1767. Simeon Potter.
 Nathaniel Pearse.
 Thomas Greene.

1768-9. Simeon Potter.
 William Bradford.
 1770. Christopher Ellery.
 William Pearse.
 1771. Christopher Ellery.
 William Pearse.
 Daniel Bradford.
 1772-4. Simeon Potter.
 William Bradford.
 1775. DEP.-GOV. WM. BRADFORD.
 Maj.-Gen. Simeon Potter.
 Benjamin Bosworth.
 1776. DEP.-GOV. WM. BRADFORD.
 Shearjashub Bourne.
 Nathaniel Pearse.
 1777. DEP.-GOV. WM. BRADFORD.
 Nathaniel Fales.
 Stephen Smith.
 1778. DEP.-GOV. WM. BRADFORD.
 Nathaniel Fales.
 Daniel Bradford.
 1779. William Bradford.
 Benjamin Bourne.
 Daniel Bradford.
 1780. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Benjamin Bourne.
 1781-4. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Nathaniel Fales.
 1785-7. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Stephen Smith.
 1788-90. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Shearjashub Bourne.
 1791-3. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Samuel Wardwell.
 1793-7. Samuel Wardwell.
 Loring Peck.
 1798-1800. Wm. Bradford. (Speaker.)
 James DeWolf.
 1800-2. William Bradford. (Speaker.)
 Shearjashub Bourne.
 1802-3. William Bradford.
 James DeWolf.
 1803. Joseph Wardwell.

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|----------|--------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|
| | James DeWolf. | | Nathaniel Bullock. |
| 1804. | William Coggeshall. | | John Howe. |
| | James DeWolf. | 1824. | George DeWolf. |
| 1805. | William Reynolds. | | Nathaniel Bullock. |
| | James DeWolf. | | Benjamin Norris. |
| 1806. | Benjamin Bosworth, 2d. | 1825. | Nathaniel Bullock. (Speaker.) |
| | William Coggeshall. | | George DeWolf. |
| | James DeWolf. | 1826. | Nathaniel Bullock. |
| 1807. | Caleb Littlefield. | | Benjamin Norris. |
| | James DeWolf. | 1827. | Nathaniel Bullock. |
| 1808. | John DeWolf. | | Benjamin Norris. |
| | Daniel Bradford. | | John Howe. |
| | Samuel Reynolds. | 1828. | John Howe. |
| 1809. | James DeWolf. | | Benjamin Norris. |
| | Samuel Wardwell. | | Byron Diman. |
| 1810. | James DeWolf. | | Samuel Coggeshall. |
| | Samuel Wardwell. | 1829. | Byron Diman. |
| | William Pearse. | | John Howe. |
| 1811. | James DeWolf. | | James DeWolf. |
| | William Pearse. | 1830. | Jacob Babbitt. |
| 1812. | James DeWolf. | | Ichabod Davis. |
| | William Pearse. | | James DeWolf. |
| | Nathaniel Gladding. | | John Howe. |
| | John Bradford. | 1831-2. | James DeWolf. |
| 1813-14. | Nathaniel Gladding. | | Ichabod Davis. |
| | John Bradford. | 1833. | James DeWolf. |
| 1815. | Nathaniel Gladding. | | Ichabod Davis. |
| | John Bradford. | | Benjamin Norris. |
| | James DeWolf. | 1834. | James DeWolf. |
| | Nathaniel Fales. | | Benjamin Norris. |
| 1816. | Nathaniel Bullock. | 1835. | James DeWolf. |
| | William Reynolds. | | Ambrose Waldron. |
| 1817. | James DeWolf. | 1836. | James DeWolf. |
| | Nathaniel Bullock. | | Joseph M. Blake. |
| | William Reynolds. | | Nathaniel Bullock. |
| 1818. | James DeWolf. | 1837. | James DeWolf. |
| | William Reynolds. | | Joseph M. Blake. |
| | Charles DeWolf. | | Byron Diman. |
| | John DeWolf, Jr. | 1838. | Byron Diman. |
| 1819. | James DeWolf. (Speaker.) | | William Pearse, 2d. |
| | Hopestill P. Diman. | | Ambrose Waldron. |
| 1820. | James DeWolf. (Speaker.) | 1839. | Joseph M. Blake. |
| | Nathaniel Bullock. | | Benjamin Hall. |
| 1821. | Nathaniel Bullock. | 1840. | Benjamin Hall. |
| | Nathaniel Wardwell. | | William Pearse, 2d. |
| | John DeWolf, Jr. | 1841. | LIEUT.-GOV. BYRON DIMAN. |
| 1822. | Nathaniel Bullock. | | John Howe. |
| | George DeWolf. | | William Pearse, 2d. |
| | Nathaniel Wardwell. | 1842. | LIEUT.-GOV. NATHANIEL BUL- |
| 1823. | George DeWolf. | | LOCK. |
| | Nathaniel Wardwell. | | John Howe. |

- Joseph M. Blake.
Benjamin Hall.
1843. New Constitution adopted. The names of the Senators are printed in italics : —
1843. LIEUT.-GOV. BYRON DIMAN.
Nathaniel Bullock.
Benjamin Hall.
Jacob Babbitt, Jr.
1844. LIEUT.-GOV. BYRON DIMAN.
Benjamin Hall.
J. Russell Bullock.
Charles Fales.
1845. LIEUT.-GOV. BYRON DIMAN.
George Pearse.
J. Russell Bullock.
Jacob Babbitt, Jr.
1846. GOV. BYRON DIMAN.
George Pearse.
J. Russell Bullock.
Jacob Babbitt, Jr.
- 1847-8. *George Pearse.*
John DeWolf.
William H. S. Bayley.
1849. *George Pearse.*
Charles Fales.
Hezekiah C. Wardwell.
- 1850-1. *Byron Diman.*
Hezekiah C. Wardwell.
Benjamin Hall.
1852. *Byron Diman.*
Benjamin Hall.
William B. Spooner.
1853. LIEUT.-GOV. FRANCIS M. DIMOND.
Benjamin Hall.
J. Russell Bullock.
John B. Munro.
1854. *Benjamin Hall.*
William B. Spooner.
John B. Munro.
1855. *William P. Monroe.*
Stephen T. Church.
John B. Munro.
Joseph M. Blake.
1856. *William P. Monroe.*
John B. Munro.
William H. Church.
John B. Herreshoff.
1857. *William H. S. Bayley.*
John B. Munro.
- John B. Herreshoff.
1858. *William H. S. Bayley.*
Messadore T. Bennett.
Samuel Sparks.
1859. *J. Russell Bullock.*
Samuel W. Church.
Henry W. Diman.
1860. LIEUT.-GOV. J. RUSSELL BULLOCK.
William H. S. Bayley.
Samuel W. Church.
Henry W. Diman.
1861. *William H. S. Bayley.*
Samuel W. Church.
Henry W. Diman.
1862. *Samuel W. Church.*
Joseph M. Blake.
John Turner.
- 1863-5. *Samuel W. Church.*
Joseph M. Blake.
James DeW. Perry.
- 1866-7. *Samuel W. Church.*
James DeW. Perry.
Theodore P. Bogert.
1868. *Samuel W. Church.*
Theodore P. Bogert.
James M. Gooding.
1869. *Samuel W. Church.*
Theodore P. Bogert.
John C. Pegram.
1870. *Isaac F. Williams.*
Theodore P. Bogert.
William T. C. Wardwell.
1871. *Isaac F. Williams.*
John Wesley Pearse.
William T. C. Wardwell.
1872. *William T. C. Wardwell.*
John Wesley Pearse.
John Turner.
- 1873-4. *John Turner.*
William J. Miller.
Charles A. Green.
1875. *John Turner.*
William T. C. Wardwell.
Isaac F. Williams.
- 1876-8. *Augustus O. Bourn.*
William H. Spooner.
Samuel P. Colt.
- 1879-80. *Augustus O. Bourn.*
William H. Spooner.
LeBaron B. Colt.



APPENDIX.



THE WRITING UPON THE ROCK.

BETWEEN Mount Hope and the Narrows, upon the shore of the farm of Mr. Arthur Codman, lies the rock with the singular inscription, which is represented upon this page. The name and the race of him who cut it have never been known to the modern inhabitants of the Mount Hope peninsula. When the first white settlers came to Bristol, they saw the strange characters almost as we see them to-day. The Indian tribes our ancestors knew, had no written language: the record made cannot therefore be theirs. Imagination delights to connect it with the visits of the Northmen described in the opening chapter of this book. It is easy to conjecture in what manner the record was made. As the boat of the Northmen approached the shore, when the tide was almost at the flood, the broad, flat surface of the rock presented itself invitingly to their feet amid the huge round boulders that

covered most of the shore. (A part of these boulders have since been removed, having been used in the construction of a wharf not far away.) When the party set out to explore the surrounding country one of their number was left in charge of the boat. As the tide went down he seated himself upon the rock with his battle-axe in his hand, and amused himself by cutting his name and the figure of his boat upon its surface. The rock is of "graywacke:" while it can easily be cut, it yet retains unchanged for ages characters traced upon its surface. The first or left-hand letter of the inscription is probably incomplete. The edge of the rock seems to have been broken off at that place. Between the third and fourth characters it would appear that a piece of the rock had also been clipped out, possibly by the careless stroke of the graver himself. There are marks to show that another letter once had a place there. The rock was lost sight of for a number of years, and has quite recently been rediscovered. When Professor Diman wrote his historical sketches (*The Annals of Bristol*) in the *Bristol Phoenix*, thirty years or more ago, no one knew its location. This is not remarkable, for while the rock is about ten feet long by six wide, the inscription covers only a very small part — hardly two feet — of its surface, and is by no means prominent. Mr. William J. Miller, in his *Wampanoag Indians*, has given a copy of this inscription, differing in some slight particulars from the one here presented.

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